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PLAYS ASCRIBED TO BHASA
THEIR AUTHENTICITY & MERITS

Being

The Vishwanath Narayan Mandalik.

GOLD MEDAL PRIZE-ESSAY FOR 1923

BY

C. R. DEVADHAR, M. A.,

Professor of Sanskrit,

FERGUSSON COLLEGE, POONA.

If an offence come out of truth, better it is that offence come, than that the truth be concealed.

ST. JEROME.

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THE ORIENTAL BOOK AGENCY,

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PREFACE

THIS essay was published in the pages of the "Annals" of the Bhandarkar Institute, and is now being offered to scholars in a book-form. It was submitted to the University of Bombay as a competitive essay for the V. N. Mandalik Gold Medal for the year 1923, and the award of the medal was made in its favour. Subsequently it was thoroughly revised, and certain alterations and additions were made in the light of the new material that was recently discovered.

I am much indebted to all the previous writers on Bhāsa, whose contributions to the Bhāsa controversy have been liberally drawn upon. I have made acknowledgements in the several places of my debt to these writers; but I take this occasion to express my gratitude to them in a general way.

Dr. N. G. Sardesai, the enthusiastic proprietor of the Oriental Book Agency, deserves my best thanks for his readily undertaking to publish the work in his series.

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THE PLAYS ASCRIBED TO BHĀSA, THEIR AUTHENTICITY AND MERITS

"If an offence come out of the truth, better it is that offence come, than that the truth be concealed."

—*St. Jerome.*

Bhāsa, the worthy predecessor of Kālidāsa, was to us a mere name, when lo! in the year 1912 he leapt forth 'a sudden tongue of fire from a heap of ashes', through the publication of a number of plays discovered by Gaṇapati Śāstri of Trivandrum. Long before, we had learnt of the drama called 'Svapnavāsavadatta', and in 1910 the play was discovered by Pandit Ānandalvar of the archæological survey of Mysore. Thenceforth his name was blazoned forth and bruited abroad, and created a commotion in the world of letters. The less cautious accepted as gospel-truth the conclusions arrived at by the learned editor, and paid eloquent tribute of homage to this master-poet in appreciative articles; while the more critical and thoughtful were hanging about the threshold of the problem and weighing considerations both for and against the conclusions reached by Gaṇapati Śāstri. It is now high time to take count of these considerations and deduce a conclusion that is likely to be enduring.

The Works ascribed to Bhasa.

Uptill now thirteen plays have been ascribed to Bhāsa, which fall into two broad divisions: the Epic-Paurāṇic and the Legendary. In the former are to be included the plays the matter of which is taken from the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Viṣṇupurāṇa or probably the Hari-vaṁśa;[1] and in the latter, those which derive their plots from the Bṛhatkathā and other popular legends.

1 Bhasa Studien, Lindenau under Bhasa Quellen.

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The following are the names of the works thus classified :—[2]
Mahābhārata.

1 Pañcarātra (Pañc)[3]
2 Dūtavākya (Dv)
3 Madhyamavyāyoga (Mv)
4 Dūtaghaṭotkaca (Dgh)
5 Karṇabhāra (K)
6 Ūrubhaṅga (Ū)

Kṛṣṇa legend.

7 Bālacarita (B)

Rāmāyaṇa.

8 Pratimā (Prat)
9 Abhiṣeka (Abh)

Probably from the Bṛhatkathā.

10 Svapnavāsavadatta (Sv)
11 Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa (Pry)
12 Avimāraka (Av)
13 Cārudatta (Cār)

Before we proceed to discuss the question of the authenticity of these anonymous plays, it is necessary to consider whether these plays can be ascribed to one author. No systematic attempt has yet been made to prove the common authorship of the entire group of plays, either on the ground of common imagery or parallelism of thought and expression or any other distinct peculiarities of style or dramatic method.

He who writes much naturally develops a peculiar style and phraseology, thinks and imagines the same thoughts and images, and moves in well-worn grooves of ideas, unless he is a person of exceptional originality, which is rare to find. Here, however, one has to bear in mind that the recurrences of thoughts and ideas may sometimes be the effect of imitation, and especially in a highly cramped form of literary art like the

2 This classification is adopted from Prof. Winternitz's article in *Ostasiatiche Zeitshrift Jg. IX.*

3 The abbreviations used are given in brackets.

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Indian Drama, such recurrences and parallelisms are very likely not peculiarities, but the result of conventional ways of thinking. Hence to be sufficient evidence of common authorship, they must be both numerous in quantity and peculiar in character. It is the cumulative evidence of a number of such analogies that will render any conclusion probable.

Common Imagery—

In Avimāraka, Saudāminī, as she hurries through the sky with her husband, is described as a flash of lightning, seen and lost in the clouds (तडिदिव तोयधरेषु दृष्टनष्टा Av. VI. 20).[4] The Viṭa in Cār. describes Vasantasenā, who has given him the slip in the darkness of the night, in just the same way—(सौदामनीव जलदोदरसंनिरुद्धा I-18) while in Abh. (II. 7)[5] Sītā in the midst of the ugly Rākṣasīs shines like a streak of lightning across the background of dark clouds, though in this the idea of evanescence is not intended to be prominent. Similarly in Dv. (47) [6] the Śārṅga of Kṛṣṇa is imagined by the poet in the same way.

The moon or her crescent in the mouth of Rāhu is an image which is very often repeated in these plays.[7] In the Prat. the image is beautifully employed as an Arthāntaranyāsa, where the generalisation that women are ever faithful to their husbands is illustrated by the instance of Tārā, who in the moon-eclipse does not leave her lord, the Moon (अनुचरति शशाङ्कं राहुदोषेऽपि तारा I. 25).

In B. I. 6 The child-god is described by Nārada as the Mandara mountain carried by Devakī in her arms (बाहुभ्यां गिरिमिव मन्दरं वहन्ती ।). In the same act, as Vasudeva issues out of the city by night with the child, he describes it as mount Mandara in his arms; and wherever the power and strength of Kṛṣṇa are spoken of in the

4 A Roman and an Arabic figure denote Act and Verse respectively.

5 नीलजीमूतमध्यस्था विद्युल्लेखेव शोभते ।

6 कनकखचितपृष्ठं भाति कृष्णस्य पार्श्वे नवसलिलदपार्श्वे चारुविद्युल्लतेव ।

7 B. I. 11 किं द्रष्टव्यः शशाङ्कोऽयं राहोर्वदनमण्डले ।; Dv. 7 राहुवक्त्रान्तरगता चन्द्रलेखेव शोभते ।; Pry. I. 16 यदि शत्रुबलग्रस्तो राहुणा चन्द्रमा इव ।; Mv. 33 वृद्धस्य विप्रचन्द्रस्य भवान् राहुरिवागतः ।;

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drama, the same imagery is employed. In Dv. the Sudarśana of Kṛṣṇa, when bidden to appear, asks his lord whether he was to whirl round mounts Meru and Mandara and a host of them (किं मेरुमन्दरकुलं परिवर्तयामि 44). So in Pry. when the chamberlain comes with the report that Vatsarāja is taken captive, Mahāsena does not believe it to be true; for to his mind it was a task as difficult as the turning of mount Mandara by the palm of his hand.[8] So in Abh. when Rāvaṇa tells Sītā that he would that day kill her lord with his weapons, Sītā takes it as an idle vaunt and remarks हं मूढो खु सि रावणओ, जो मन्दरं हत्थेण तुळयिदुकामो ।.

The weapon Nīla of Kārtyāyanī declares that it would kill Kaṁsa in battle as Kārtikeya did mount Krauñca. This adventure of Kārtikeya is very often repeated in these plays.[9]

Of two adversaries, the stronger one is often compared to a lion or a tiger and the weaker one to an elephant. Very often a deer or a fawn takes the place of the elephant in the above-mentioned picture; and the idea is expressed in a variety of ways, as an Arthātantaranyāsa or a Dṛṣṭānta or a mere simile.[10]

In Mv. the Rākṣasa appears as death impersonate to the horrified sons of the Brahmin (मृत्युः पुरुषविग्रः । Mv. 6); so also is the child-god Kaṁsa's death incarnate[11]. In another place of the same play the Bhaṭa fancies Dāmodara to be Death descended into the city of Kaṁsa[12]. In Dv. when Duryodhana charges Vāsudeva with

8 व्यावर्तनं करतलैरिव मन्दरस्य । Pry. II 9.

9 B. II. 23 क्रौञ्चं यथा शक्तिधरः प्रकृष्टः । ; III. 9 बालेन हि पुरा क्रौञ्चः स्कन्देन निधनं गतः । ; Abh I. 24 गूढशक्तिसमाक्रान्तो यथा क्रौञ्चाचलोत्तमः । ; VI. 7 क्रौञ्चं यथा गिरिवरं युधि कार्तिकेयम् । ; Prat V. 12 भिन्नो मद्बाणवेगेन क्रौञ्चत्वं वा गमिष्यसि ।.

10 B. IV. 13 नागं मृगेन्द्र इव पूर्वकृतावलोकम् । ; Mv. 44 रुष्टोऽपि कुञ्जरो वन्यो न व्याघ्रं धर्षयेद्वने । ; Abh. VI. 11 गजपतिमिव मत्तं तीक्ष्णदंष्ट्रो मृगेन्द्रः । ; Dv. 10 हरिमिव मृगपोतौ तेजसाभिप्रयातौ । ; Prat. V. 18 न व्याघ्रं मृगशिशवः प्रधर्षयन्ति । ; Abh. III. 20 कथं लम्बसटः सिंहो मृगेण विनिपात्यते । ; Mv. 3 व्याघ्रानुसारचकितो वृषभः सधेनुः । ; Car. व्याघ्रानुसारचकिता हरिणी । ; Prat. मृगीव सीता परिभूय नीयते । ; Abh. II. 13 सिंहदर्शनविस्रस्ता मृगीव परितप्यते । ; II. 9 हरिरिव हरिणीनामन्तरे चेष्टमानः ।.

11 B. I. 10 सुत इति कृतसंज्ञं कंसमृत्युं वहन्ती ।.

12 B. V. 3 रामेण सार्धमिह मृत्युरिवावतीर्णः ।.

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the murder of Kaṁsa, the latter defends himself by pointing out that the wicked Kaṁsa was, for his many unpardonable sins, killed by the God of death himself. [13]

When the middle (madhyama) son of the Brahmin Keśavadāsa offers himself to the Rākṣasa to save his brothers and parents, the father pathetically laments: 'Wilt thou be destroyed like a tree in blossoms broken by the tusks of a lordly elephant?' [14] So in Prat. Jaṭāyu dies at the hands of Rāvaṇa like a tree of the forest shivered by a lordly elephant. [15]

The wrath of an enemy is often described as fire or conflagration-fire. The image is varied by comparing one enemy to fire and another to wind, and they together are spoken of as burning down a forest of reeds—their adversaries. [16]

Often-times a person is described as the Moon in the midst of Stars [17]. The picture [18] is varied when the poet speaks of a person as the moon in the clouds, or as free from them, according to circumstance in each case. So in Prat. [19] Bharata compares Rāma to the moon in clouds shorn of his splendour, Sītā who was abducted by Rāvaṇa corresponding to his splendour. In Abh. Sītā is compared to the crescent of the Moon on a rainy day. (दुर्दिनान्तर्गता चन्द्रलेखेव).

In Dv. [20] Kṛṣṇa is spoken of as the eye of the Pāṇḍavas. So in Dgh. [21] Dhṛtarāṣṭra says that the arrows of the Pāṇḍavas will

13 Dv. 27 हतोयं मृत्युना स्वयम् ।.

14 Mv. 24 कथमिह गजराजदन्तभग्नस्तरुरिव यास्यसि पुष्पितो विनाशम् ।.

15 Prat. VI. 4 नागेन्द्रभग्नवनवृक्ष इवावसन्नः ।.

16 Mv. धार्तराष्ट्रवनदावाग्निः ।; Dv. 14 भीमस्य कोपाशेखिना युधि पार्थपत्रिचण्डानिलैश्च कुरुवंशवनं विनष्टम् ।; Dgh. 6 पञ्चानां पाण्डवाग्नीनामात्मा येनेन्धनीकृतः ।.

17 Dv. 3 नक्षत्रमध्य इव पर्वगतः शशाङ्कः । Mv 33 पुत्रनक्षत्रकीर्णस्य.....विप्रचन्द्रस्य । Prat. VII. 14 चन्द्रं सनक्षत्रमिवोदयस्थम् ।.

18 Prat. VII. 6 मेघैर्विमुक्तममलं शरदीव सोमम् ।

19 Prat. VI. 12 जीमूतचन्द्र इव खे प्रभया विमुक्तः ।

20 Dv. ग्रहणमुपगते तु वासुदेवे हृतनयना इव पाण्डवा भवेयुः ।

21 Dgh. 31 सर्वत्रानुगमिष्यन्ति शरास्ते कृष्णचक्षुषः ।

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reach Jayadratha even though he be placed in the interior of the earth or lifted up into the heavens, inasmuch as the arrows have Kṛṣṇa as their eye. In act VI of Prat. Sumantra speaks of the blind sage's son as the eye of his father and the poet indulges in play upon the word Cakṣus. (विपन्नचक्षुषो महर्षेश्चक्षुर्भूतो सुनितनयः।).

Abhimanyu is described in Dgh.[22] as the first shoot of Arjuna. He is also called यदुकुलप्रवाल in the same play. Similarly, Vālin, on the point of death, entrusts Aṅgada to the care of Sugrīva as the offshoot of their family.[23]

The sound of conches is compared to the roar of the ocean on the day of doom[24].

From the above-given citations we feel certain that inspite of the conventional character of many of the images, they unmistakably suggest a common source; that the author must have studied and revolved in his mind these pictures, till they became habitual with him and entered easily into the texture of his thoughts.

Another indication in the same direction is the recurrence of similar ideas in this group of plays. Thus in Mv.[25] Bhīma says to Ghaṭotkaca 'I swear by truth that I do not know the nature of fear; I should like to know it of thee!' So in B.[26] Dāmodara says to Ariṣṭarṣabha 'I learnt of thee to-day what fear was like!'

When the demon Ariṣṭarṣabha challenges Dāmodara to a fight and asks him to take up his weapon, Dāmodara scoffs at the idea saying that his arms were to him his weapon.[27] This idea is to be met with in Pañc II. 55,[28] Mv. 42,[29] Av. II[30].

22 Dgh. 19 अयं तु बालः कुरुवंशनाथः छिन्नोऽर्जुनस्य प्रथमः प्रवालः।

23 Abh. I. 26 कुलप्रवालं परिगृह्यतां नः।

24 K. 24 शङ्खध्वनिः प्रलयसागरघोषतुल्यः। Dv. 49 यस्य स्वनं प्रलयसागरघोषतुल्यम्। Dv. 5 सेनानिनाद.....शङ्खनादैः.....महोदधिनादकल्पैः।.

25 Mv. 41 शपामि सत्येन भयं न जाने।

26 B. III. 8 किमेतद्भो भयं नाम भवतोऽद्य मया श्रुतम्।

27 B. III, 11 बाहू ममैतौ प्रहरणम्।

28 Panc. II 55 सहजौ मे प्रहरणं भुजौ पीनांसकोमलौ।

29 Mv. 42 अयं तु दक्षिणो बाहुरायुधं सदृशं मम।

30 Av. II. 11 वयमपि च भुजायुधप्रधानाः।

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In B.[31] Nārada funnily remarks that his business was to make firm enmities and lutes (i. e. to embitter quarrels and strain the strings of the lute to the required pitch by screwing the pegs). Similarly when he steps forth in Av.[32] he declares that he produces notes on the lyre and quarrels among the people.

The idea 'to the beautiful everything lends beauty' is familiar to a student of classical literature and especially to a student of Kālidāsa. We come across this idea in Av.[33] Prat.[34] and a closely allied thought in Act IV of Av.[35].

In Dv. 32 when Vāsudeva recounts to Duryodhana Arjuna's deeds of valour, he enumerates Arjuna's fight with Śaṁkara appearing as a mountaineer, his thatching the Khāṇḍava forest with arrows to prevent rain from drenching it, while Agni burnt it down; then his destroying the Nivātakavacas who had distressed Indra, and his conquest single-handed of the Kuru warriors, when the latter had marched against Virāṭa. In Dgh. 22 Dhṛtarāṣṭra refers almost to the same deeds except in the last line where he substitutes Arjuna's rescuing Duryodhana from Citrasena. This same is also referred to in Dv. 33. In Ū. 14 the same deeds are referred to by one of the three heralds (Bhaṭas) who describe the battle-field.

Ghaṭotkaca describes the blind Dhṛtarāṣṭra as मन्ये सुरैस्त्रिदिवरक्षणजातशङ्कैस्त्रासान्निमीलितमुखोऽत्रभवान् हि सृष्टः। So in Ū. 36 Balarāma describes the old king as सृष्टो ध्रुवं त्रिदिवरक्षणजातशङ्कैर्देवैररातितिमिराञ्जलिताडिताक्षः (?)। In both the idea is the same:—the gods were jealous and so they created him blind lest he should trouble the heavens.

In Prat. II the king Daśaratha gives expression to the following sentiment—कौसल्ये सारवती खल्वसि। त्वया हि खलु रामो गर्भे धृतः। A similar thought also occurs in B. I. 12 where Vasudeva remarks—

31 B I. 4 तन्त्रीश्च वैराणि च घट्टयामि।

32 Av. VI. 11 तन्त्रीषु च स्वरगणान् कलहांश्च लोके।

33 Av. II अथवा सर्वमलंकारो भवति सुरूपाणाम्।

34 Prat. I. सर्वशोभनीयं सुरूपं नाम।

35 Av. IV आकृतिरेव भर्तृदारिकाया अलंकार इति भणामि।

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अहो गुरुत्वं बालस्य । साधु

विन्ध्यमन्दरसारोऽयं बालः पद्मदलेक्षणः ।
गर्भे यया धृतः श्रीमानहो धैर्यं हि योषितः ॥

In Abh. and Prat. we have the following thought repeated—

(Prat. p. 42) सोपत्नेहतया वृक्षाणामभितः खल्वयोध्यया भवितव्यम् ।
(Abh. p. 3) सोपत्नेहतया वृक्षाणामभितः खलु किष्किन्धया भवितव्यम् ।
Cf. also सोपत्नेहतया गृहविशिष्ट इवायं भवनविन्यासः । Cār III p. 55.

Closely alike are the lament of Rāvaṇa over the death of Indrajit (Abh.) and the lament of Daśaratha at the separation from his beloved son in Prat.

हा वत्स ! सर्वजगतां ज्वरकृत् ! कृतास्त्र । etc. Abh. V. 13.
हा वत्स ! राम ! जगतां नयनाभिराम । Prat. II. 4.

Other echoes of thought are Pañc. I. 23. नष्टाः शरीरिः क्रतुभिर्धरन्ते । and K. 17 हतेषु देहेषु गुणा धरन्ते. Sv. अभिजनस्य सदिसं मन्तिदं and Av. अभिजनयुक्तमेवाभिहितम् । also Av. III. 2 and Cār I. 13.

There are other agreements of vocabulary and expression which make it probable that these plays are the works of the same poet. Here, however, we have to exclude such agreements as are the staple of dramatic language, so that their occurrence in these plays is almost a matter of course. Thus the epithet 'एकातपत्रा' in Dv. 56, Av. I. 1, Prat. VII, 1, Sv. VI. 19 and B. V. 20; the courtly expressions अत्रभवान् and तत्रभवान् and the expression को कालो in Pry., Sv., Cār., and का गतिः in Pry., Sv., Cār., cannot be regarded as having any kind of significance.[36] We find को कालो in Ratnāvalī, and the expression का गतिः is frequently put by Kālidāsa in the mouth of his vidūṣaka. So also of expressions like बाढम् । प्रथमः कल्पः । ; गच्छतु भवान् पुनर्दर्शनाय । etc.

But peculiar words and expressions like यवनिका and अच्छल and वृतसंपात do signify common authorship. The word यवनिका,[37] important from the point of stage-techinque, meaning a curtain generally

36 Prof. Winternitz cites the above as indications of common authorship in an article in "*Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*" *Jg. IX.*

37 Winternitz—*Ostasiatische Zeitschrift Jg. IX.*

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and a theatre-curtain particularly, comes in the first sense many times in these plays[38]. The word अच्छल is used in combination with other words in Av. (अच्छलं मित्रत्वं नाम। p. 64; अच्छलो हि स्नेहो नाम। p. 83; जानामि भवतोऽच्छलां बुद्धिम्। p. 67) and in Pañc. (अच्छलो धर्मः। p. 16). The word विस्मित in the sense of 'proud', 'puffed up' is found in Sv. (भाग्यैश्चलैर्विस्मितः। p. 8), in Dv. (विहगवाहनमात्रविस्मितो दूतः। p. 34) and in Pañc. (गान्धारविषयविस्मितशकुने। p. 11). The word दूतसंपात occurs in Sv. and Av., so also the verb व्यपश्रयिष्ये and the noun व्यपाश्रयणा in Sv., Mv., and Pañc. Other peculiar words are सुमणावण्णअं (Sv. Av.) दारुपर्वतक (Sv. Av.) समुद्रगृहक (Sv. Prat.) परिस्पन्द (Pañc. and Cār.) and मध्यम as an appellation of Bhīma. (Pañc. Mv.)

The following expressions are frequently employed in the various plays of this group—

1 आर्य! अतिपाति कार्यमिदम्। शीघ्रं निवेद्यताम्। Pañc. p. 24; Abh. p. 27.
2 अहो अकरुणा खु इस्सरा। Sv. p. 27, 62; Abh. p. 23.
3 अतिस्निग्धमनुरूपं चाभिहितम्। Pañc. p. 46; Sv. p. 78.
4 अहो हास्यमभिधानम्। Pry. p. 67, 71; Pañc. p. 48; Dgh. p. 66.
5 एष समासः। Pañc. p. 25; Pry. p. 32; Av. p. 31.
6 अलमिदानीं भवानतिमात्रं संतप्य। Sv. p. 72, 77; Cār. p. 8; Av. p. 83.
7 अद्यैव किल शोभनं नक्षत्रम्। Sv. p. 24; Pañc. p. 98.
8 अभिजनस्य सदृशं मन्त्रितम्। Sv. p. 46 (in Prākrit) and Av. p. 106.
9 किं ऊहसे। मम खलु प्राणैः शापितः स्याः। Abh. p. 37; Prat. p. 95.

Important also from the point of common authorship are recurrences of verses or quadrants of verses such as the following[39] :—

1 किं वक्ष्यतीति हृदयं परिशङ्कितं मे Sv. VI. 4.15; Abh. IV. 7.
2 धर्मस्नेहान्तरे न्यस्ता। Pry. II. 7. Abh. VI. 23.
3 यदि तेऽस्ति धनुःश्लाघा। Abh. III. 22; Prat. I. 20.
4 संभ्रमोत्फुल्ललोचना। Dv. 7; Cār IV. 3.
5 भारतानां कुले जातः। Sv. VI. 16; Pry. IV. 18.

38 Prat. p. 38; U. p. 114; Av. V.—6.

39 An exhaustive list of such recurrences is prepared by Dr. Sukthankar in an article—the fourth of a series of articles on Bhasa—in the Annals of the B. O. R. I. Poona.

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We shall now proceed to consider certain dramatic devices and situations the repetition of which in the several plays will not fail to bear upon the same conclusion.

Oftentimes the introduction of a person of high rank—a king, a princess or a minister—is made with the words 'Clear off, good sirs, do clear off' [40] announced by a herald (Bhaṭa) or some other person as in Pry. IV p. 63, Ū p. 99, Sv. I. p. 2, Prat. III. p. 50. In Sv. the call to clear off serves a definite purpose, since by attracting the attention of Yaugandharāyaṇa, it gives the poet an opportunity of explaining the situation by making Yaugandharāyaṇa enter into conversation with the chamberlain of Padmāvatī and thus elicit information from him.

Another device to acquaint the audience with some piece of news which is necessary for the furtherance of the action is this : a chamberlain calls a person with the words "Hear ho! Who is in attendance at the gate of the golden arched entrance of the palace!" and then asks the person to communicate some news to the king. The following citations will reveal that the situation is so similar, nay identical, that the recurrence of it in the following plays could not have been a matter of mere accident.

Thus in the beginning of act VI of Sv. we have—

काञ्चुकीयः—क इह भो रत्न (काञ्चन) तोरणद्वारमशून्यं कुरुते ।

प्रविश्य ।

प्रतीहारी—अय्य ! अहं विजआ । किं करीअदु ।

काञ्चुकीयः—भवति ! निवेद्यतां निवेद्यतां वत्सराज्यलाभप्रवृद्धोदयायोदयनाय । etc.

In the beginning of act III of Abh. we get

शङ्कुकर्णः—क इह भोः ! काञ्चनतोरणद्वारमशून्यं कुरुते ।

प्रविश्य ।

प्रतिहारी—अय्य ! अहं विजआ । किं करीअदु ।

शङ्कुकर्णः—विजये ! निवेद्यतां निवेद्यतां महाराजाय लङ्केश्वराय । etc.

A somewhat similar device of communicating some news to the audience is that employed twice in Pañc. acts II-III, once in K. and once in Dgh. e. g.—

[40] उत्सरह, उत्सरह अय्या ! उत्सरह ।

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ततः प्रविशति भटः।

भटः—भो भोः! निवेद्यतां निवेद्यतां महाराजाय विराटेश्वराय etc. Pañc. II. p. 23.

So at the beginning of act III of the same—

ततः प्रविशति भटः।

भटः—भो भोः! निवेद्यतां निवेद्यतां सर्वक्षत्राचार्यपुरोगाणां etc.

So in K. ततः प्रविशति भटः।

भटः—भो भोः! निवेद्यतां निवेद्यतां महाराजायाङ्गेश्वराय। etc. p. 72.

So in Dgh. ततः प्रविशति भटः।

भटः—निवेद्यतां निवेद्यतां पुत्रशतश्लाघ्यबान्धवाय.....धृतराष्ट्राय। etc. p. 50.

Twice in Pañc. a herald (Bhaṭa) enters the audience of the king and gives him news of the fight between the Kuru warriors and Uttara with Bṛhannalā as his charioteer; the herald is then asked to give further report of the progress of events. (गच्छ भूयो ज्ञायतां वृत्तान्तः।). This is twice repeated in B. where it serves the same purpose, and also twice in Abh. where the person who brings the news of Kumāra Akṣa's death is Śaṁkukarṇa instead of the usual herald; while the news of Rāma's victory over Indrajit is brought by a Rākṣasa.

A similar purpose is served by the introduction of a minor scene where two or three persons—usually heralds—enter and describe battles and duels. They usually announce themselves with the words एते स्मो भोः! एते स्मः।

Essentially similar to the above is the introduction of persons who describe a person or a sacrifice and so on. Thus in Pañc. act I three brahmins enter and give lively details of a sacrifice recently performed by Kururāja; so in Mv. the brahmin and his three sons give their impressions of the terrible Rākṣasa that threatened them with death.

Another very curious feature that we find in some six plays of this group is the demand for water made either by a dying person, or a person who wants to take a pledge, or one who wants to receive an honoured guest or to do homage to a superior and so on. Thus we find the demand आपस्तावत्। twice in Mv., twice in Prat.,

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and twice also in Pañc.; and once in Dv., Abh., and Pry. In fact the introduction of water in this fashion is of sufficient frequency to warrant the clever suggestion that the Trivandrum author deserves in an eminent degree the epithet "अम्भित्र" 'the friend of water' side by side with the other epithet "ज्वलनमित्र" 'the friend of fire,' the significance of which has been demonstrated with specious ingenuity by a writer[41] in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

There are, further, similar dramatic situations in these plays. Thus in Abh. p. 20 we have the following :—

सीता—हं विपरीओ खु धम्मो, जं जीवदि खु अअं पापरक्ससो ।
रावणः—ननु देवि !
सीता—सत्तोसि ।
रावणः—हहह ! अहो पतिव्रतायास्तेजः ।
देवाः सेन्द्रादयो भग्ना दानवाश्च मया रणे ।
सोऽहं मोहं गतोऽस्म्यद्य सीतायास्त्रिभिरक्षरैः ॥

With this compare the following from Prat. p. 86.

रावणः—विलपसि किमिदं विशालनेत्रे ।
विगणय मां च यथा तवार्यपुत्रम् ॥
.....
सीता—(सरोषम्) सत्तोसि ।
रावणः—हहह ! अहो पतिव्रतायास्तेजः ।
योऽहमुत्पतितो वेगान्न दग्धः सूर्यरश्मिभिः ।
अस्याः परिभवैर्दग्धः शतोऽसीत्येभिरक्षरैः ॥

Here are almost identical situations : Rāvaṇa reveals his unworthy passion to Sitā, who meets his wishes with a curse, and then comes from the mouth of Rāvaṇa the glorification of a Pativratā.

The following from the B. and Pañc. are also worthy of notice :—

भटः—एष महाराजः । उपसर्पतां भवन्तौ ।
उभौ—आः कस्य महाराजः ।
भटः—सर्वस्य जगतोऽस्माकं च । B. V. p. 61.

41 The plays of Bhasa, by A. Banerji Sastri p. 380 J. R. A. S. July 1921. As Prof. Winternitz has shown—all the passages culled by Banerji Sastri are not conclusive because expressions like fire of anger, the sacrificial fire etc. are met with also in the works of other poets, *(Ostasiatische Zeitshrift Jg. IX.)*

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बृहन्नला—इत इतः कुमारः। एष महाराजः। उपसर्पतु कुमारः।

अभिमन्युः—आः कस्य महाराजः।

बृहन्नला—न न। ब्राह्मणेन सहास्ते Pañc. II. p. 9.

This situation illustrates the truth of Bhavabhūti's beautiful line 'न तेजस्तेजस्वी प्रसृतमपरेषां हि सहते.' "the true warrior brooks not the vain assumptions of superior glory".

The opening scene of the third act of B. is similar to the opening scene of the second act of Pañc. In the latter there is to be a rally of cattle on the way to the city park (नगरोपवनवीथि) and a Vṛddhagopālaka is calling the herdsmen to be ready for the occasion. It is to them a time of merry-making, and hence the Vṛddhagopālaka asks them to dance and sing; and as they do so, he remarks—

ही ही! सुट्ठु णच्चिदं। सुट्ठु गाइदं। जाव अहं पि णच्चेमि।

He repeatedly invokes blessings on his cattle and kinsmen with the words—

पन्ती होदु, पन्ती होदु, अह्माणं गोवदाळआणं दाळिआणं अ।

In the B. the scene is laid in Vṛndāvana. The Vṛddhagopālaka is exhorting the herdsmen to go after the cattle that have gone to the river for water, and are coming back, and lowing in glee as they come. The names of the herdsmen here are Meghadatta, Vṛṣabhadatta, Kumbhadatta and Ghoṣadatta. In the Pañc. also we have the names Vṛṣabhadatta and Kumbhadatta in addition to other names. Then in both places these address the old herdsman as Mātula. The old herdsman then expresses himself with the words

पन्ती होदु, पन्ती होदु, अह्माणं गोधणष्ष अ।

Further in B. the herdsmen join together in a dance 'the Hallīṣaka' in which Dāmodara and Saṁkarṣaṇa take part, and the old herdsman expresses his approbation with the words—

ही ही सुट्ठु ईदं। सुट्ठु वाइदं। सुट्ठु णच्चिदं। जाव अहं पि णच्चेमि।

There can be no reasonable doubt that these lively and truly bucolic scenes came from the same hand.

A further peculiarity of these plays is that in some of them there are pathetic death scenes, and the dying words of the stricken

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person express identically similar sentiments. Compare for instance the following :—

राजा—परित्यजन्ति मे प्राणाः । इमेऽत्रभवन्तः शन्तनुप्रभृतयो मे पितृपितामहाः ।...(इमा) उर्वश्यादयोऽप्सरसो मामभिगताः । इमे मूर्तिमन्तो महार्णवाः । एता गङ्गाप्रभृतयो महानद्यः । एष सहस्रहंसप्रयुक्तो मां नेतुं वीरवाही विमानः कालेन प्रेषितः । अयमयमागच्छामि । (स्वर्गं गतः ।) Ū. (page 114).

वाली—परित्यजन्तीव मां प्राणाः । इमा गङ्गाप्रभृतयो महानद्य एता उर्वश्यादयोऽप्सरसो मामभिगताः । एष सहस्रहंसप्रयुक्तो वीरवाही विमानः कालेन प्रेषितो मां नेतुमागतः । भवतु । अयमयमागच्छामि । (स्वर्गं गतः ।) Abh. (Page 12)
Also Prat. (page 38).

Oftentimes a dependent brings some news which appears to be incredible in the eyes of his master; and when the latter, almost in a huff, doubts the authenticity of the report, the dependent apologetically remarks that he is never known to have given out a lie in the presence of his master. Thus in Abh. when a Rākṣasa brings the news of Indrajit's death, Rāvaṇa vehemently questions his veracity with

आः दुरात्मन् ! समरभीरो !
देवाः सेन्द्रा जिता येन.....
इन्द्रजित्सोऽपि समरे मानुषेण विहन्यते ॥

Whereupon the Rākṣasa humbly says, to his lord

प्रसीदतु प्रसीदतु महाराजः । महाराजपादमूले कुमारमन्तरेणानृतं नाभिधीयते ।

So in B.[42] the Kāñcukīya brings news of the birth of a son to Devakī and when his lord Kaṁsa is inclined to doubt, he says महाराज ! अनृतं नाभिहितपूर्वं मया ।

So in Pry.[43] and Pañc.[44]

The following situations from Prat. and Pañc. are also noteworthy :—

राजा—.....रामो लक्ष्मणो वैदेहीत्ययमक्रमः ।
सुमन्तः—अथ कः क्रमः ।

42 B. p. 27.
43 Pry. II p. 32.
44 Panc. II, p. 30.

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राजा—रामो वैदही लक्ष्मण इत्यभिधीयताम्।

Prat. II. pp. 35-6.

द्रोणः—एह्योहि पुत्र ! अयमक्रमः।

दुर्योधनः—अथ कः क्रमः।

द्रोणः—किं न पश्यति भवान्।

दैवतं मानुषीभूतमेष तावन्नमस्यताम्।
अन्यायाचरणं मन्ये भीष्ममुत्क्रम्य वन्दितुम्॥

Pañc. I. 24.

A common feature of many of these plays—one of the most effective of dramatic devices—is the use of dramatic Irony in all its kinds—comic, tragic, verbal, and the Irony of situation To some of these it is possible to apply the technical name Patākāsthānaka.

This is illustrated in Av. (page 41) where Vilāsinī and Nalinikā are talking about the princess' marriage. After the question of the former "Nalinike when is the marriage to come off?" somebody behind the stage says "to-day". Here we find that the word 'to-day' serves as an answer to Vilāsinī's question, though the speaker is quite innocent of it and is simply stating to some royal officers that the servants of the minister were not in attendance "that day" at the palace of the Princess, as their master, the minister, had set out.

Similarly in the V act of Abh. when Rāvaṇa says to Sītā "when that wretch of a mortal together with his brother Lakṣmaṇa is killed in battle by Indrajit, by whom, let me known wilt thou be set free?" A Rākṣasa enters and says "By Rāma" at which Sītā remarks "Live you Long."

So in Pry. Mahāsena, father of Vāsavadattā, and his queen are discussing the several suitors of Vāsavadattā. The king then asks his queen "Which of these—do you think—is worthy of our daughter?". Presently a chamberlain enters and says "Vatsarāja". He brings the glad tidings of Vatsarāja's capture and is unable to contain the great good news and almost bursts with it. As he says—he has forgotten the customary "All hail to the king" in the confusion caused by the glad news.

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These are instances of 'Verbal irony', the dramatist putting into the mouth of a character remarks which the audience with their fuller knowledge of the facts can interpret in two ways, while the speaker himself is quite unconscious of any secondary point in his words.

Oftentimes the irony of remark and situation are united as in 'Twelfth Night' where the humour and interest of the scenes in which Viola is with Olivia and Orisino turn upon the facts that they do not know her to be a girl, while the audience does. In Mv. we have instances of this comic irony. Ghaṭotkaca does not know that the person with whom he was talking was Bhīma, his father, and hence his remarks are essentially provocative of mirth. A similar situation is to be met with in Pañc. (page 38) when Abhimanyu gets furious with Bṛahannalā that she should talk in a familar tone with him—a prince—and at page 40, where Abhimanyu, when Bhīma has declared that his arms are his natural weapons and that he requires no other, says to the latter "are you my 'middle-father' (Madhyamaḥ tātaḥ) that you speak thus? Such words are only proper to him'.

The Sv. of our poet—on all hands acknowledged as his masterpiece—is remarkable beyond all others of these plays for the frequency and power of its tragic irony. It is needless to recapitulate instances—it permeates almost the whole play. Another instance of very powerful tragic irony is in Dgh.[45] where before knowing who it was that had ruthlessly killed Abhimanyu Duḥśalā remarks:—

जेण दाणि वह्वए उत्तराए वेधव्वं दाइदं तेण अत्तणो जुवदिजणस्स वेधव्वमादिट्ठं ।

Now a herald enters and informs that Jayadratha, Duḥśalā's husband was the cause of Abhimanyu's death; and the old king Dhṛtarāṣṭra exclaims "हन्त ! जयद्रथो निहतः", The words of Duḥśalā now recoil on her with a terrific significance and she weeps. The VI act of Av. is also an instance of (very feeble) tragic irony with a comic side-effect.

45 Dgh. page 52.

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The plays, morever, have the following features in common with one another, (i) that with the exception of the Prologue of Cārudatta, their prologues are much shorter than those of classical plays ; (ii) that in them, there is no mention of the poet's name and works (the Prarocanā) as is the case with classical dramas; (iii) noteworthy also is the fact that in the maṅgalaśloka of the four plays Prat., Pañc., Sv., and Pry. there is mudrālaṁkāra (i. e. mention of the names of the principal persons of the plays through puns), and that two plays (Dv. and Mv.) show nearly verbal agreement in this verse ; (iv) It is also important that the Bharatavākya in some of these plays runs exactly alike, and in all of them has the same meaning.

Besides[46] this, these plays, especially the Epic and Paurāṇic, reveal the ethos of the Brahmanical system, which clearly shows that the author was a staunch supporter of the Brahmanical religion and customs. He has, moreover, strong predilection for the Vaiṣṇavite cult. He loves to refer to the Brahmanical rites and customs and speaks time and again of the prominent position of the Brahmins (cf. Pañc. I.6 ; I.22 Mv. 9). He also shows well his familiarity with Brahmanical rites and Śāstras. In Karṇabhāra, Karṇa speaks a kind of blessing in prose which begins with the words " May not the cows and brahmins perish.! " In B. (page 27) the chamberlain guards himself against the occasion that he might tell a lie, whereupon Kaṁsa calmly says " I take even an untrue word of a Brāhmaṇa to be a true one." In the V act of Prat. the poet deviates from the Rāmāyaṇa, when he makes the wish of Rāma to perform a befitting Śrāddha give occasion for Sitā's abduction. This gives him a chance to describe in strong terms the significance of the Śrāddha cult, and to refer to details of the Śrāddha-ritual. Twice in Prat. (V. 7 ; V. 15.) is put in the mouth of Rāvaṇa the thoroughly brahmanical comparison that he would take away Sītā like the sacrificial oblation which is won without mantras or with badly pronounced mantras.

In Prat. Rāma appears only as a human hero. On the contrary in the second Rāmāyaṇa play he becomes the sole god Viṣṇu or

46 Prof. Winternitz in *Ostaslatische Zeitshrift Jg IX.*

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Nārāyaṇa, and in the VI act Agni declares that Sītā is an incarnation of Lakṣmī. In the IV act, the God Varuṇa appears to tremble before Rāma and speaks to Rāma as to Nārāyaṇa himself become man and the eternal cause of the three worlds (स्वयं कारणभूतः सन् कार्यार्थी समुपागतः). The staunch devotion of the poet to Viṣṇu is evident in the plays in which Kṛṣṇa plays a part. In Dv. as well as B. every line breaths the feeling of surrender to Kṛṣṇa. Thus the poet of the Epic-paurāṇic plays—we may take it—was a firm devotee of Viṣṇu and a Brahmin, who revered Viṣṇu as the highest of all gods in all his incarnations and more particularly in the incarnation of Kṛṣṇa. In the remaining plays the Brahmanism and the Viṣṇu-worship do not come clearly before us as in the Epic-paurāṇic group; however, we find nothing contradictory to this conception about the author.[47]

The two Vatsa plays are both of them productions of the same author; for they treat not only the two different episodes of the same legend, but Pry. is pre-supposed by Sv; for in the last act of Sv. in contradiction to the narrative in the Kathāsaritsāgara and therefore in the Bṛhatkathā, is shown a picture in which the marriage ceremony of Udayana and Vāsavadattā is described. This marriage (as it could not take place in reality because of the elopement) is completed in the picture; and this marriage is also referred to in the Pry. Similarly a direct testimony of common authorship is the reference in Sv. to Yaugandharāyaṇa's adventures. Thus in Sv. act VI. 18 in the recognition scene, the king says :—

यौगन्धरायणो भवान् ननु ।
मिथ्योन्मादैश्च युद्धैश्च शास्त्रदृष्टैश्च मन्त्रितैः ।
भवद्यत्नैः खलु वयं मज्जमानाः समुद्धृताः ॥

The two Rāma-dramas show so many verbal agreements that it is scarcely to be doubted that they are the productions of one author.

Greatly important evidence to prove the common authorship of these plays is such little things as the same names of the secondary persons in the different plays which repeat themselves.

47 Prof. Winternitz *Ostastatische Zeitshrift Jg. IX*

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Vijayā is the name of the female door-keeper in Sv. as well as Pry. and also in the two Rāma-plays Abh. and Prat. The chamberlain of Mahāsena in Pry. is called Bādarāyaṇa and that is also the name of the chamberlain of Duryodhana in Dv. We have also shown that the names Vṛṣabhadatta and Kumbhadatta repeat themselves in Pañc. and B.

Noteworthy also is the use of metronymica in B., Prat. Pañc. and Dv. (यादवीमातः, शौरसेनीमातः, सुमित्रामातः etc). But we find the same usage in a south-Indian Ms. of a play, the Kalyāṇa-Saugandhika,[48] which I have later examined for my purpose.

The deviations from Pāṇini are also a very strong evidence of common authorship; and there are indications of a "method in this madness". Thus no one will fail to notice that the verb आप्रच्छ् is used in the Parsm. in Sv. and Prat.; the form राज्ञे or राज्ञः as in काशिराज्ञे and सर्वराज्ञः—where in a compound against the rules of Pāṇini राजन् becomes राज्ञ—is found in Dv. and Av. Many other irregular constructions and ungrammatical forms unfailingly furnish evidence of common authorship.

The copious use of alliteration and Yamaka, as well as the use of long compounds—a list of which will be given in an appendix—especially in the Epic-Paurāṇic group is a further indication in the same direction.

These considerations are sufficient to induce the conclusion of common authorship of the plays. While there cannot be any reasonable doubt about this with regard to the Epic-Paurāṇic plays, there is a great probability that the other group of legendary plays proceeds from the same writer. The Cāru. is possibly the only play that stands out from this group and has peculiarities which are not shared by the rest of the plays, though this fact can be accounted for by the assumption that it represents an abridgement of the larger play, the Mṛcchakaṭika. The relation between Cāru. and Mṛ. is a matter of very great moment, as it will be helpful in determining the chronological relation between Śūdraka and the

48 A transcript of the Original Ms. from Madras, at the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute.

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Trivandrum author, and also to some extent the question of the authenticity of these plays as the works of Bhāsa.

On the relation between the Carudatta and the Mṛcchakaṭika.

The close correspondence of the Cārudatta and the Mṛcchakaṭika and the many identical and analogous passages in the two plays exclude the hypothesis of their independent origin; so that assuming the inevitable alternative of a genetic relation between these, we have to deal with the further question of determining which of the two is the original and which the copy. Opinion is sharply divided over the issue: some notably Belvalkar,[49] Sukthankar,[50] Keith,[51] and almost all European Indologists maintain the priority of Cārudatta; while others like P. V. Kane,[52] Raddi,[53] Bhaṭṭanātha[54] doubt its authenticity and regard it as something little less than a literary forgery.

The problem has become much more difficult by reason of the absence of any external evidence to prove the priority or otherwise of either of the plays. There is no doubt a reference to Daridracārudatta in the Nāṭyavedavivṛti of Abhinavagupta; but that does not help to settle any chronological conclusion, and besides, it is more likely than not a reference to the M. than to this fragmentary version of it; as G. Morgenstierne[55] has noticed, in the Cār. the hero is never mentioned as Daridracārudatta but as Daridrasārthavāhaputraḥ Cārudattaḥ, while in M. we find him referred to by the compound word Daridracārudatta. This in itself has no doubt very little cogency as an argument to prove that Daridracārudatta was an alternative appelation of the M., but such a conclusion is

49 On the relationship between the Mr. and Car. *Proceedings of the First Oriental Conference, Poona.*

50 J A O. S. 42. Studies in Bhasa III.

51 The Sanskrit Drama.

52 कवि भास व तद्रचित नाटकें; महाराष्ट्रसाहित्यपत्रिका सप्टेंबर १९२०

53 भास कीं आभास, विविधज्ञानविस्तार, एप्रिल १९१६

54 Indian Antiquary, December, 1916. Thirteen newly discovered Dramas attributed to Bhasa.

55 Uber das Verhultnis Zwichen Carudatta and Mrcchakatika. Leipzig 1921.

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rendered probable by the fact that Abhinavagupta is in the habit of using an alternative title whether or no such a title was given to the work by the poet himself; thus we find that the Ratnāvali which is fully discussed by him both in the Nāṭyavedavivṛti and in the Dhvanyāloka,[56] is mentioned by him under the rather broad title 'Vatsarājacarita'. In a later work on dramaturgy—the Nāṭya-darpaṇa of Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra we have a reference to the Rūpaka 'Daridracārudatta' in the course of a discussion on free will and determination in its relation to the dramatic art. (ततो दैवायत्तफले दरिद्रचारुदत्तादिरूपके पुरुषव्यापारस्य गौणत्वात्कथं प्रारम्भादयः स्युः।). Curiously enough, Abhinavagupta has cited the Rūpaka under the same topic, and there is very little doubt that Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra on the one hand and Abhinavagupta on the other had in mind not a fragment but a complete play, where the final catastrophe was averted through a stroke of destiny rather than through any human endeavours.

Similarly as Mr. P. V. Kane has pointed out, the verse

यासां बलिर्मद्गृहदेहलीनां etc.

which Mm. Gaṇapati Śāstri and G. Morgensteirne believe to be a citation from Cār. could not have been taken from that work by Vāmana, since the sentence द्यूतं हि नाम पुरुषस्यासिंहासनं राज्यम्। is cited by Vāmana (IV. 3. 23) and is to be found in the M. and not in the Cār. Similarly while speaking of Śleṣa Vāmana remarks

शूद्रकादिरचितेषु प्रबन्धेषु भूयानस्य प्रपञ्चो दृश्यते।

this clearly proves that the works of Śūdraka were thoroughly known to Vāmana. It is, therefore, rather, inconsistent to believe that the first (यासां बलिः etc.) is a citation from Cār. and the second (द्यूतं हि etc.) from M, since both are to be found in the M. while only one is to be met with in the Cār. So far, therefore, there is very little reason to believe that the Cār. was known to rhetoricians like Vāmana and Abhinavagupta.

Even in regard to the stanza लिम्पतीव तमोऽङ्गानि etc. the first half of which is quoted by Daṇḍin in his Kāvyādarśa, it is not possible

56 Dhvanyaloka P. 162 (Locana of Abhinavagupta) Kavyamala. 25.

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to maintain that it is taken from the Cār. or the Bālacarita, and not from the M. There is no doubt that it was the stock-in-trade of rhetoricians. As to its origin, I should draw attention to the context in which the verse occurs in the M. It is striking to note that the simile असत्पुरुषसेवेव is most appropriate and natural in its context in the M. while it is merely a rhetorical trifle both in the B. and the Cār. When the Viṭa comes to know that Vasantasenā is in love with Cārudatta, he expresses his approbation with the words "So Vasantasenā is in love with Cārudatta! It is true what people say that jewel suits with jewel. Well! I have had enough of this fool." He is no longer a party to that deed of shame, he disowns Śakāra and washes his hands off the brutal business. How very beautiful and significant, thus, is the simile put into the mouth of the Viṭa in this frame of mind :

"Mine eye is all unprofitable grown to me
Like service done to those who cheat and lie."

The propriety and the appropriateness of the simile incline one to believe that it belongs to Śūdraka and is borrowed from him in the other two plays.

There is one more reference to Cārudatta in the Nāṭakaratnakoṣa of Sāgaranandin, a treatise on dramaturgy which along with the Nāṭyadarpaṇa of Rāmcandra and Guṇacandra is noticed by Prof. Sylvain Levi in a recent number of the *Journal Asiatique*. Sāgaranandin gives the following stanza from Cārudatta :

शुष्कद्रुमगतो रौति आदित्याभिमुखं स्थितः
कथयत्यनिमित्तं मे वायसो ज्ञानपण्डितः ॥ (जीर्ण ?)

and the dislocated elements of the above stanza are to be found in the following from the M. IX.

शुष्कवृक्षस्थितो ध्वांक्ष आदित्याभिमुखस्तथा ।
मयि चोदयते वामं चक्षुर्घोरमसंशयम् ॥

The motive of this change is suggested to be the author's desire to conform to the following line from the बृहत्संहिता where it treats of the science of Augury :

छिन्नाग्रेऽङ्गच्छेदः कलहः शुष्कद्रुमस्थिते ध्वांक्षे ।

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If this is a citation from Cārudatta, then certainly the sequel to the four acts now available must have developed on a line closely parallel to the M. But there is one circumstance which makes it doubtful that the citation is from Cārudatta. Prof. Levi points out that the Ms. gives the citation thus

यथा चारुदत्तः—
शुष्कद्रुमगतो etc.

and he suggests that this should be

यथा चारुदत्ते ।

So according to Ms. evidence the citation is from a work where Cārudatta is one of the characters who recites the stanza, and not from a work Cārudatta. It may, therefore, be allowable to suppose that the stanza read differently in different Mss. of the M. considering the liberties which the commentators of the M. took with the text of this ancient drama.

We are, therefore, of necessity thrown back upon whatever internal evidence is available to us, and in this connection it is rightly pointed out that the terseness and brevity of the one or the length and prolixity of the other do not necessitate the conclusion that the Cār. is the original of the M. or vice versa, 'since in adaptation abridgment is as common and natural as amplification.' Similarly the parallelisms of the two versions yield results which are at best dubious, so that conclusions mutually opposed can be drawn from them without advancing the inquirer nearer the truth. The whole attempt of Georg Morgenstierne is, therefore, to my mind vitiated by the assumption of the priority of Cār; for, with the best intentions in the world, he is naturally led to interprete the results in exact unison with this design.[57] On the other hand, Dr. Sukthankar[58] has come to the same conclusion by a critical examination of significant textual differences—discussing these under four heads (i) Technique, (2) Prākrit, (3) Versification (4) and Dramatic Incident.

57 Vide his remarks on यासां बलिः on page 12 in his Ueber dss Verhæltnis Zwichen Car. Und. M.'

58 J. A O. S. Studies in Bhasa III.

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As he rightly observes, every change, however minute, presupposes a cause; but it is hard to understand how the cause for the change becomes easily perceptible or will readily supply a clue to the relative priority, or posteriority of two variations. It is indeed very difficult from a number of textual variations to divine the exact motive of the change. Let us by way of illustration examine a few such variations and see for ourselves whether the motive for the change is directly perceptible and capable of objective verification.

The Cār. differs from the M. (as from other classical dramas) in two striking particulars–viz, the usual Nāndi is missing, and the Prarocanā is also wanting. In this connection, however, it will be readily cenceded that the Prologue of the M, is a composite one discovering later additions; and secondly, if one compares the Sanskrit prose portion immediately after the verses of the Prarocanā, with the opening Prakrit prose, one will not fail to mark that the prose passage is virtually a translation in Sanskrit of the opening Prākrit words of the Sūtradhāra. It is interesting to note that the Cār. begins with the Prākrit portion. It is certainly unusual to the author of the newly discovered plays (if indeed the work claims to have come from the same hand) that the Sūtradhāra should be made to speak Prākrit; in no other play of this group does the Sūtradhāra speak Prākrit. Moreover the characteristic benedictory stanza is wanting here. If the opening Sanskrit portion of the Prologue to M. is palpably a later addition, as is proved from the reference in the verses to the death of the author, and also from the repetition in Sanskrit of the opening Prākrit words of the Sūtradhāra, then certainly we have very little ground to say that the original M. differed in these respects from the Cār.

There is again nothing worthy of note in the fact that in the stage-directions of Cār. the hero is never called by his name or rank, but merely by the character of the role he plays—Nāyaka. Prof. Lüders indeed regards this as an ancient usage, as it is met with in the dramas of Aśvaghoṣa, where Magadhavati is not mentioned by her name, but by the character of her role Gaṇikā; while in the

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Nāgānanda of Śriharṣa, where we meet with the same usage, Prof. Lüders is pleased to regard it as a conscious archaism copied by the author of the Nāgānanda. But this is no more than a hasty generalisation : in a drama professedly modern, we meet with the same usage. In the Tapatī-saṁvaraṇa of Kulaśekharavarman, we find the heroine mentioned as Nāyikā; possibly this also is according to Lüders a conscious archaism!

How very flimsy again is the evidence of the Prākrit will be shown when the Prākrit of all the plays ascribed to Bhāsa will be examined. Suffice it to say that the so-called archaic Prākrit-forms of the M. do not indicate high age, but rather show a provincial dialectical variety of the literary Prākrits. In this respect the evidence is too overwhelming to be set at naught.

That in the M. the verses are largely free from the flaws of the corresponding verses in Cār. will be readily admitted on all hands; but that this is not invariably the case, is shown by Dr Belvalkar[59]; and, therefore, as he has well remarked, an argument based upon an æsthetic evaluation of certain verses is certainly misleading and illusive in character. Then again it is not possible to assign the exact reason for a particular change. Thus, for instance, in Cār. I. 25 we have अकामा ह्रियतेऽस्माभिः । etc. for which the M. offers सकामा ह्रियते etc. No one will doubt that M. gives a superior reading in so far as it implies a more minute analysis of character. But if on that account it is sought to prove that it is an improvement on a crude reading, and therefore, later, such a conclusion is unwarranted by the facts of the case. In the Cār. the Viṭa is a degenerate voluptuary without any of the relieving features of the town-gallant we come across in the M., and therefore, it can be argued on the other side that अकामा will be more in character than सकामा. But it is not safe to argue eitherway merely on the strength of the crudity or the refined character of an individual instance. In a given case, when the priority and posteriority of two versions are proved beyond doubt, we may point to cases when the earlier one presents a crude original, while the later one shows a marked improvement;

59 Proceedings of the first Oriental conference, held in Poona, B. O. R. Institute.

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but that this will always be invariably the case passes our comprehension. A good work fallen into bad hands is sure to be so transformed and mutilated as to present crudities of taste, lapses of judgment and other minor faults; and therefore, an argument derived from the comparative merits of corresponding readings in two versions will not indicate any time-relation between the two versions.

What I have said of the versification also applies to dramatic incident. If on the one hand the M. shows a marked improvement in the selection and arrangement of the incidents of the action, Śūdraka's play on the other hand, as Dr. Belvalkar[60] contends, is from the stage-manager's point of view an extremely awkward piece to deal with, whereas Bhāsa has such a fine and discriminating eye for the little details of time and place and situation and apparel, that it is evident that we must rank the author of these newly discovered plays as a dramatist of a very high order!

What do we derive, therefore, from evidence from which arguments on both sides can flow? "Faith" some one may remark with Macbeth's porter, "Faith! here's an equivocator that could swear in both the scales against either scale!"

I shall now proceed to urge a few considerations which to my mind leave no doubt that the shorter and apparently incomplete work is an adaption possibly made for stage-purposes of one of the greatest of "dramatic poems."

The first sure indication which will strike even a casual reader, is the vagueness and halting character of the dialogue in the Cār. where the situation becomes clear and explicit only by a reference to the M. It is conceivable that a work of high antiquity is vague and obscure owing to the peculiar character of the antique style or the obsolescence of the expressions employed But where the obscurity is due to overmuch condensation, so that the scrappiness of the dialogue scarcely makes the situation readily comprehensible or even articulate, we have reasons to believe that such an obscurity could not have existed in the original conception and in

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its subsequent execution. I shall illustrate what I mean by a few examples.

In the prologue to Cār. we find the stage-manager speaking to his wife in the following way;—

नटी—अज्ज मम उववासस्स अय्यो सहायो होदु ।
सूत्रधारः—किण्णामधेओ अय्याए उववासो ।
नटी—अभिरूपवदी णाम ।
सूत्रधारः—किं अण्णजादीए ।
नटी—आम ।
सूत्रधारः—सव्वं दाव चिट्ठदु । कोणु दाणि अय्याए उववासस्स उवदेसिओ ।
नटी—इमिणा वडिवस्सएण चुण्णगोट्ठेण ।
सूत्रधारः—साहु चुण्णगोट्ठ ! साहु । etc.

Here it is really difficult to catch the drift of the author. The humour of the whole situation is altogether lost in the Cār. Now in the M. there is an appeal to the audience, (पेक्खन्तु पेक्खन्तु अज्जमिस्सा । ममकेरएण भत्तपरिव्वएण पारलोइओ भत्ता अण्णेसिअदि ।) and the Naṭī tries to pacify him by saying that she wished that in the next birth also she would have him as her husband. Then again the forcible expression सव्वं दाव चिट्ठदु loses all point in the Cār. Mark again the anacoluthon involved in the question of the Sūtradhāra and the answer of the Naṭī. To the question कोणु.....उवदेसिओ—we expect the answer अअं वडिवस्सओ चुण्णगोट्ठो but this grammatical sequence is not observed in the Cār.

Cār. p. 26.

नायकः—भद्रे ! कृतं देवकार्यम् ।
गणिका—(आत्मगतम्) परिजणत्ति मां सद्दावेदि । भोदु, रक्खिदाह्मि ।
नायकः—मारुताभिलाषी प्रदोषः । तद् गृह्यतां प्रावारकम् ।
गणिका—(प्रावारकं गृहीत्वा सहर्षम्) अणुदासीणं जोवणं से पडवासगन्धो सूएदि ।
नायकः—रदनिके ! प्रवेश्यतामभ्यन्तरचतुःशालम् । etc.

Here is an inartistic blunder; for Vasantasenā does not give answer to the question (कृतं देवकार्यम् ?) Our expectancy, therefore, remains unfulfilled. Naturally we expect the hero to reiterate his question; but this he does not bother himself about. He offers her his mantle as the evening was growing chill. Why should the hero give his mantle to the maid? If it was cold, he himself was

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surely in need of the mantle. But perhaps the playwright wanted to represent Cārudatta as a very noble master who looked to the happiness of his servants at the cost of his own convenience. But why ask her to take the garment inside the house; (Gaṇapati śāstri explains[61]—प्रवेश्यतां—अर्थात् प्रावारकम् ।) Or, does he ask her to enter the house? But in this case प्रवेश्यतां causal can scarcely be justified: surely enough, here is an important clue to this mystery regarding the relation between the two plays. The playwright evidently wanted to dispense with Rohasena; and therefore, he asks the maid simply to take the mantle without stating why she was to take that mantle. In the M. she is asked to take the mantle, and cover Rohasena with it, and take him inside the house. The Cār. deliberately drops all reference to Rohasena; but the प्रवेश्यतामभ्यन्तरमयम् । of the M. stands in the Cār. as प्रवेश्यतामभ्यन्तरचतुःशालम् । Here, then, there is a significant inadvertence of the playwright which will not fail to indicate the epitomiser. The same can be said about the phrase मारुताभिलाषी प्रदोषसमयः । In the M. we have मारुताभिलाषी प्रदोषसमयशीतार्तः रोहसेनः । etc. The meaning of मारुताभिलाषी प्रदोषसमयः । will be literally the evening desires breezes —i. e. the evening is likely to be breezy! what unusual twisting is involved in such an interpretation! we must, however, add in justice to the author of the Cār. that मारुताभिलाषी प्रदोषसमयः—is found as an alternative reading in some Mss. of the M. also.

Cār. I. page 27.

(रदनिकाविदूषकावुपसृत्य)

चेटी—भट्टिदारिअ! इआह्मि ।

नायकः—इयमिदानीं का ।

अविज्ञातप्रयुक्तेन धर्षिता मम वाससा ।
संवृता शरदभ्रेण चन्द्रलेखेव शोभते ॥

गणिका—(आत्मगतम्) दीवाळोअसूइदरूवो सो एव्व दाणी एसो..... ।

विदूषकः—भो चारुदत्त! राअसाळो सण्ठाणो सवट्ठेण सीसेण अणुवन्दिअ विण्णवेदि..... etc.

Here again, to the question of the hero इयमपरा का । no answer is given either by Radanikā or by the Vidūṣaka. In the M. the

61 The Caruadatta of Bhasa—with commentary by Mm. Ganapati Sastri, Trivandrum 1922,

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Vidūṣaka stills the anxiety of Cārudatta that it is improper to look at other men's wives by pointing out that the lady was no other than Vasantasenā, a gaṇikā, and therefore, he should have no scruples about it. After this he proceeds to deliver the message of Saṁsthānaka to the hero. In the Cār., however, we find that the hero's anxiety to know who the stranger is, is set aside and neither is he insistent in his curiosity nor do Radnanikā and Vidūṣaka who are near him when he asks इयमपरा का । seem to care or are very much concerned about it. And the Vidūṣaka proceeds to deliver the threat in the course of which Vasantasenā comes forth, and says अय्य ! सरणागदम्हि ।

Cār. II. Page 33.

चेटी—अज्जुए ! इच्छामि पुच्छिदुं बहुमाणो विअ रमणीओ कोचि राअकुमारो ।

गणिका—रमिदुं इच्छामि, ण सेविदुं ।

The same stands in the M. as

मदनिका—.....ता कधेदु अज्जआ किं राआ राअ-वल्लहो वा सेवीअदि ।

वसन्तसेना—हञ्जे रमिदुमिच्छामि । ण सेविदुं ।

The vagueness or rather the obscurity of the question इच्छामि etc. is inexplicable in the Cār.

Cār III, Page 67.

मयि द्रव्यक्षयक्षीणे स्त्रीद्रव्येणानुकम्पितः ।
अर्थतः पुरुषो नारी या नारी सार्थतः पुमान् ॥

A very great blunder is committed by this change of आत्मभाग्यक्षतद्रव्यः into मयि द्रव्यक्षयक्षीणे. It is not possible to make out anything from the first line. The locative phrase cannot be construed with the rest of the sentence ; the phrase द्रव्यक्षयक्षीण is again tautologous. So here, as in many other places the mere versifier has wantonly dabbled with the classic lines of Śūdraka and worked havoc with them by introducing changes without propriety or justification, because it listed him to do so.

A comparison of the following passage with the corresponding portion of the M. also points to the same conclusion:—

62 चेटी—दिट्ठपुरुवो विअ अअं अलङ्कारो ।

गणिका—ममकेरओ विअ अअं अलङ्कारो ।

62 Carudatta, Page 74.

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चेटी—भणाहि भणाहि । को इमस्स आअमो ।
सज्जलकः—त्वत्स्नेहात्साहसं कृतम् ।
उभे—हं, साहसिओ ।

In the Cār. there is the awkwardness of putting the same remark (हं साहसिओ) in the mouth of two characters who are not together, but in different parts of the same house.

The stanza विषादस्रस्तसर्वाङ्गी etc. is considerably altered in the Cār.; the second line मृगीव शरविद्धाङ्गी कम्पसे चानुकम्पसे for नीयमाना भुजिष्यात्वं कम्पसे चानुकम्पसे । of the M. (IV-8) gives a reading which is entirely meaningless. We have to construe मृगीव with कम्पसे only; for evidently it is not clear how a deer shot by an arrow, can be compassionate.

In the first act of the Cār. the Vidūṣaka brings for his friend Cārudatta a mantle and flowers. From the M. we know that Cūrṇavṛddha, Cārudatta's friend, sends that jasmine perfumed mantle as a friend's gift. This mantle plays an important rôle in the M.; when the same is offered by the Vidūṣaka to Cārudatta, it elicits that bitter lament of the hero over his changed condition. In the Cār., however, there are those obscure words कारणादो गहीदो सुमणो etc. and nowhere in the ensuing part does the Vidūṣaka proffer it to his friend. Later on, when Vasantasenā has slipped into the house of the hero, we find that Cārudatta mistakes her for his maid and offers her a mantle (प्रावारकः) and as Vasantasenā remarks (अणुदासीणं से जोवणं पटवासगन्धो सूएदि ।) the mantle was a scented one. Here then we find a significant inconsistency; where has the author given us to understand that the Vidūṣaka proffers the mantle to his friend or that the mantle is a scented one?

There is another inconsistency of a very broad and pronounced kind in the III act of the Cār. which will also throw not a little light on this vexed question: when the Ratnāvalī is offered to Cārudatta by his wife through the Vidūṣaka, Cārudatta sends his friend with it to Vasantasenā with the words—"Tell her in my name that I have gambled away the golden casket, forgetting that it was not mine own; that I trust she will accept the necklace in its place."

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Now in the Cār. we find that the hero does indeed ask his friend to go to her, but the message is altogether wanting. इमां मुक्तावलीं गृहीत्वा वसन्तसेनायाः सकाशं गच्छ । These are the words of the hero, but not the message. But in act IV, when the Vidūṣaka is ushered into the presence of Vasantasenā he says to her—

सुणादु भोदी । तत्तहोदो चारुदत्तस्स गुणप्पच्चाअणणिमित्तं खु तुए अलङ्कारो तहिं णिक्खित्तो । सो तेण जूदे हारिदो ।

गणिका—जूदे । जुज्जइ । तदो तदो ।

विदूषकः—तदो तस्स अलङ्कारस्स मुळ्ळभूदं इमं मुत्तावलिं पडिच्छदु भोदी ।

Surely, it is too much to suppose that the Vidūṣaka would make such an unauthorised statement. The author, when he came to act IV, did not possibly remember that he did not intend the Vidūṣaka to convey such a message and unconsciously, therefore, following the text of the M. he put that message in the mouth of the Vidūṣaka.

Many will agree with Ryder's[63] remark that in the M. we have the material for two plays. As he has said, the larger part of act I forms with act VI to X a consistent and ingenious plot; while the remainder of act I might be combined with acts III to V to make a pleasing comedy of a lighter tone. Great cleverness is shown by Śūdraka in producing the impression that this complex is one campact whole, by dropping hints and providing nexus of connection by means of incidents which are some of them vital and organic, and others inconsequent and trivial, though very serviceable from this point of view. Thus in his very opening speech the Sūtradhāra says that his eyes are parched up with hunger and are rattling in their sockets, and the cause of this is the extreme indigence of the Sūtradhāra, whose vocation as a musician will not help him to bread and cheese. This point is altogether lost in the Cār. To a critical mind the connection between this extremely suggestive feature and the main portion of the drama will certainly strike as significant. In fact the hero of the drama is reduced to extreme poverty, and is also represented as very fond of music, and in act III is introduced as coming back from a concert.

63. Ryder, the Little Clay-cart., Harvard Series-no 9. Introduction P. XXII.

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Similarly the jasmine-scented mantle plays an important rôle in M., but not so in the Cār. It came as a present from Cārudatta's friend Cūrṇavṛddha who is also a friend of the Sūtradhāra. We know how Cārudatta gave it to Vasantasenā to wrap his son with, and finally how it was given by Cār. to Karṇapūra who in his turn handed it over to Vasantasenā in the III act. It was by this garment—this sweet-scented garment—that Vasantasenā could recognise that the person who appreciated well and rewarded properly the dashing adventure of the servant was no less a person than Cārudatta himself, and another link was added to the chain with which she felt she was being dragged towards him.

If in the first three acts the Prāvāraka incident plays such an important part, the incident of the great golden ornaments is still more important and the poet has properly emphasised this by making the revenge of Śakāra turn upon it. It is interesting in this connection to note that in the Cār. all reference to the suit in the law-court is studiously avoided.

While on this point, it will be certainly profitable to inquire whether the drama before us is a fragment or whether it is a complete whole in itself. Dr Belvalkar maintains that in spite of the colophon अवसितं चारुदत्तम् । which is found at the end of one of the two Mss. collated, it can be proved from internal evidence that the author of the extant four acts did intend to write more. He has pointed out some four or five places in the Cār. where the author raises certain expectations in the mind of his readers which, however, are not fulfilled in the extant four acts. But there are on the other hand to be found certain significant omissions which urge the opposite view to be a very plausible conclusion.

The omission of all references to the political back-ground of the play is very significant. Now these political events enter into the composition of the M. with such an intricacy of union that to drop them is almost to spoil the whole play. It is the very backbone of the main theme—the rivalry between the hero and the king's favourite—the latter's vengeance and the sudden reversion of fate, when the retributive forces of Nemesis are at work and virtue is

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rewarded and vice condemned. Śūdraka has very skilfully developed these two episodes side by side:—while chance leads Vasantasenā apparently to her death and puts Cārudatta in his power, the storm of rebellion and discontent is gathering force. the loom of silent powers is weaving the web of destiny, and the wicked monarch and his designing favourite are doomed to a miserable and inglorious end. How is it then that this background is notably absent in the Cār.? Is it so because the events narrated in the M. are unknown to the author of the Cār.? In that case the conclusion would be that the Cār. represents the crude original of the M. and that Śūdraka, in his elaboration of it, foisted the story of the political revolution, possibly within living memory when he wrote, on the main theme of the love of Vasantasenā and Cārudatta.

This, however, seems hardly possible. From the Sv. and Pry. we know that Pālaka and Gopālaka were known to the author of these plays; it is inconceivable that he should not have known Pālaka's usurpation of his brother's throne, or of his rightful heir Āryaka's.

If the Cār. is a fragment, as to all intents and purpose it does appear, and if the author did contemplate writing more, what could have been the possible lines on which he would have developed the sequel to the first four acts? There can be scarcely any doubt that these lines would have been very near those on which the narration proceeds in the M. There is certainly a terrific, ironic significance in the words of the hero (पापं कर्म च यत्परैरपि कृतं तत्तस्य संभाव्यते) and also in the threat of Śakāra where he speaks of Vasantasenā as entering Cārudatta's house with the great golden ornaments; and if at all the sequel is to fulfil stringent dramatic necessities, then it becomes necessary to assume that the denouement turns upon the cue that is supplied by these words of the hero and of Śakāra respectively.

But the omissions from this point of view are so considerable that it becomes almost necessary to assume that the author possibly thought of splitting the play into two parts, and of giving each part, as much as lay within his power, the appearance of a complete

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whole. Thus we find that the Ceṭa Sthāvaraka in Śakāra's service is a character that plays an important part in the sequel of the drama. While going to his master with his chariot he had to stop at the gates of Cārudatta's garden, as the narrow city-street was crowded and blocked by bullock-carts; and thus was it that Vasantasenā ascended Śakāra's chariot through mistake and was taken to his garden and to death. Then again he nobly declined to put his hand to the dastardly murder of Vasantasenā, and as a witness of the same was afterwards fettered and confined by his fiendish master, lest he should blubber the secret out and prick the bubble that his master had blown. He further tried to save Cārudatta by hurling himself from the palace-window where he lay confined, and by running to the death-procession and spiritedly declaring the truth; though simple as he was, he was soon outwitted by his cunning master. We find that this character is withdrawn from the Cār. However, it is possible to say that the author could have introduced this character in the sequel.

I have already shown how by dropping all reference to Rohasena, the author is betrayed into the singular mistake of making the hero ask Vasantasenā to do that queer thing—(प्रवेश्यतामभ्यन्तरं–अर्थात् अयं प्रावारकः). If the revenge is to turn upon the golden-ornaments, then indeed it is very difficult to understand how in the absence of Rohasena that becomes possible. In the M. we know that the morning after Vasantasenā's visit to Cārudatta, the little boy is introduced on the stage crying for his golden cart, and Vasantasenā asks him to put his little arms around her neck and assures him that he shall have a gold-cart to play with; and immediately removing her ornaments and jewels fills his clay-cart with them. Thus it is that the ornaments are once more in the house of Cārudatta. When the hearing in the law-court is proceeding we find Vidūṣaka entering with these incriminating ornaments into the presence of the judges to lend colour to the accusation for which Cārudatta was being tried; thus the ornaments come pat on the scene to strengthen the hands of the vengeful enemy.

How is this possible in the absence of Rohasena? What possible excuse is there for Vasantasenā to leave her ornaments

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behind her, especially when they were once stolen from Cārudatta's house? 'If then the revenge turns upon the golden ornaments this can hardly be under the circumstances in the absence of Rohasena.

Similarly I have shown that the Cār. omits the words (अधिकरणे व्यवहारं विना etc.) of the M.; this clearly shows that the wicked Śakāra contemplated some law-suit against the hero on some false charge; and he was confident that his influence with the court was sure to stand him in good stead in this respect and that it was possible for him to catch his rival 'on his hip'. But all this does not seem to be contemplated by the author of the Cār.[64]

To summarise, then, we find that by dropping the servant of Śakāra it becomes difficult to understand how the 'swapping' of the bullock-carts could be brought about; by dropping Rohasena, what plausible excuse can there be for Vasantasenā to leave her ornaments once more behind her in the house of the hero, so that their chance discovery in the court in the very nick of time strengthens the cause of the villain; or by dropping all reference to the law-suit (व्यवहारम्) what other weapon of revenge was availed of by this implacable enemy. And that poetic justice be accorded to the respective characters and the whole plot properly rounded off, the political setting is both vital and necessary. And the appearance of the group of gamblers in the third act suggests in a lively manner how the forces of discontent were rallying round Āryaka, who as their protagonist was hailed as the new king.

I have thus shown that the omissions in the Cār. are of so serious a character that it is a sheer impossibility to complete the play unless on the supposition that the author might have rounded it off by a confused medley of incident and ineffectual dramatic contretemps. That the sequel to these four acts must be based upon the lines of the M. becomes more than plausible by the emphasis that is laid upon the golden ornaments and by the sentiment put into the mouth of the hero (पापं कर्म च यत्परैरपि कृतं तत् तस्य

64 Cf. Bhattanatha—Indian Antiquary, December 1916; other significant omission is the last words of Samvahaka—ता शंवाहके ज्ञदिअले शक्कशमणके शंवुत्तेति शुमाळिदव्वा अज्जआए एदे अक्खलु. M. p. 117. B. S. S.

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संभाव्यते) which otherwise would be void of meaning. What then shall we say? Surely enough the author was compelled to make of this play a pleasing comedy of a lighter tone, and however tantalizing the end where he leaves us, he has the satisfaction to more than suggest that the hero and heroine meet and have their hours of pleasure.

The conclusion of the Cār. also seems to indicate that the author desired to give a touch of finality to the play. What exactly is meant by the expression अमुदंकणाडअं संवुत्तं is difficult to guess. Can it be the name of a class of plays? Can it be the author's commendation of his own work? The immediately preceding remark of Vasantasenā is "Look here, wide awake I have thus seen a dream" which is interpreted to refer to her recovery of the ornaments in a very strange manner. In a Bhāṇa the "Padmaprābhṛtaka" attributed to Śūdraka we have a similar remark "साधु भोः अमृतदङ्गो (अमृताङ्गः?) नाटकाङ्गः संवृत्तः". The remark seems to imply satisfaction at an incident which, the speaker feels, is very agreeable to him. Here then the remark serves a similar purpose and probably betrays the self-consciousness of the author. Similarly when the Ceṭī remarks :

'एतत् पुनरभिसारिकासहायभूतं दुर्दिनमुन्नमितम्'

Vasantasenā answers हताशे! मा खलु वर्धय। Here the same difficulty of properly interpreting the remark confronts us; "Fie! for shame, do not lengthen out" can, therefore, be properly understood to imply the author's desire to have done with the play. Some might think this to be possibly too ingenious an interpretation to be correct, but I on my part am tempted to suggest it as the probable drift of the dialogue.

In the burglary scene, before the actual act, Śarvilaka invokes the aid of the guardian deity of his trade—Skanda; but in place of this we find the name Kharapaṭa substituted in the Cār. This change seems to me significant; in the Mattavilāsaprahasana[65] by Mahendravikramavarman of South India we find a printed reference

65 Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. LV. 1917

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to this tradition (नमः खरपटाय येन चोरशास्त्रं प्रणीतम्) 66. This proves that there was current in South India the tradition that a God Kharapaṭa was the patron of thieves. If this conclusion is accepted—and there is nothing that goes against it—then we get additional proof of the play-wright being from South India and of comparatively modern date.

A minute comparison of the two plays will reveal that there is a considerable change in the conception of characters and that in the Cār. the change is always for the worse. There are those small inartistic touches which at once reveal the tyro; thus the remark of Cārudatta गुणरसज्ञस्य तु पुरुषस्य व्यसनं दारुणतरं मां प्रतिभाति।—is rather obscure. It serves to introduce the stanza सुखं हि दुःखान्यनुभूय शोभते।; the stanza contains virtually the same sentiment garbed in poetic expression as the introductory bit of a sentence. The M. is free from this repetition, and besides how very appropriately is the stanza placed so that the habitual melancholy of a noble mind is accentuated at the sight of a friend's gift! there follows a most inappropriate bit of dialogue in the Cār. which is entirely wanting in the M.

Vidūṣaka—Oh my friend! whither has gone that wealth of yours that formed a great part of the ocean's treasure as also of the city?

Hero—(sighing) whither my good stars have sunk. Mark friend

> My treasures are drained in acts of benevolence. Nor once do I remember to have dishonoured a suppliant; but this my fortitude which my self-confidence has brought, does not lessen.

The hero extols his virtue! For what else can he do to preserve his equanimity; this is indeed crudity of taste of which, however, we have many more specimens.

Another very important difference in the two versions is the entire change in the conception of the character of the Viṭa. In the

66 Mattavilasa. p. 15

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Cār. he is a shameless voluptuary who tries to frighten Vasantasenā by bragging of himself. When Radanikā issues out of Cārudatta's house, it is he who dastardly maltreats her and tries to deceive Śakāra by passing her off as Vasantasenā; and when the latter, judging from her voice, remarks that she could not be Vasantasenā, the Viṭa explains to him that the artful girl has purposely changed her voice to deceive them. What a degenerate, unchivalrous, and conceited *succedaneum* to the refined and gallant figure we come across in the M. There he is a man not only of education and social refinement but also of great nobility of character. He is in a false position from the very first and at last breaks away from his brutal companion and risks life and all that makes life attractive by backing Āryaka.

There is another inartistic change in the following words, of Vasantasenā: "Oh, his very courtesy frightens me; I will try this. (Aloud) Sir! What do you expect from this pursuit? My jewels?"

This in Cār.[67] stands as:

"Sir! What do you expect from me, my body or my jewels?"

It is singularly indelicate to make Vasantasenā put this alternative. Of course that they were after her not for her jewels but for herself is made clear in the M. by the brutal Śakāra declaring

हगे वलपुलिसे etc.—

whereupon he is spiritedly repulsed by Vasantasenā. The author of the Cār. could not maintain the dignity and self-respect of Vasantasenā who was noble in mind though perhaps defiled in body.

Similarly in act[68] IV when Śarvilaka and Madanikā are talking together, Vasantasenā, finding that she tarried long, looked through the window to see what her maid was doing. She finds her eagerly talking to a man and she bethinks herself of some one who comes to ask her person in exchange for his money. This ghastly social picture is not to be found in the M. and reflects upon the sense of propriety of the author of Cār. Especially in the mouth

67 Carudatta p. 14.

68 Carudatta p. 73 तक्केमि जो को वि कएण मां याचेदि।

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of the heroine it is extremely indelicate to put a sentiment that smells of the brothel.

In act III when the Brāhmaṇī offers her necklace to the Vidūṣaka under the pretext of a vow, the Vidūṣaka is so dense-headed as to require explanation from the Ceṭī that the wife of the noble Cārudatta wished to relieve the anxiety of her husband by this gift of her only possession. The same bluntness of feeling is shown by the Vidūṣaka in what follows: he asks her why she was tearful and when the lady tries to evade, has the cheek to say that he would *swear* by his friend Cārudatta if she would not deign him an answer.

Similarly towards the end of act I when Cārudatta and Vasantasenā are gracefully excusing themselves each the other, here is what the Vidūṣaka says:—

भो। विवहन्ता इव सआडिअं दुव्विणीदबळिवद्दा अण्णोण्णं सङ्किळेसन्ति। अहं दाणि कं पसादेमि। भोदु। दाणि रदणिअं पसादेमि। रदणिए! पसीददु पसीददु होदी।.

Here is matter dredged up for the cheap applause of the pit. What fine humour in the M. is lost in the Cār. by the author's thus writing down to the low taste of the groundlings.

But instances of such infelicities of thought and language having an indirect bearing upon the question in hand are too numerous to specify here.

Two other indications of the Cār. being an abridgment, are that in the Cār. we find that the author has put the stanza

विभवानुवशा भार्या—

which occurs in the III act of the M. in the first act, where it is put in a context where it can be safely dispensed with; while the elaborate wit arising from the play on the word वसन्तसेना—which is in place in the V act of the M. is so tempting for the author of the Cār. that he puts it in the III act of the Cār. without caring to see whether it is appropriate to the occasion. Thus when the Vidūṣaka announces to Cārudatta the incident of the house-breaking it is done in the usual rollicking manner of the conventional Vidūṣaka gratulating where the occasion requires condolence

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and condoling in a time of high glee. It is in such a fit of perverted ingenuity that in the Cār- he says :

भो चारुदत्त पिअं दे णिवेदेमि

and when the hero asks him :

ननु वसन्तसेना प्राप्ता ।

he answers ण खु वसन्तसेणा, वसन्तसेणो पत्तो । Now that portion of the M. where there is this play on the word वसन्तसेना is so elaborote and humorous that it is possible that in this abridgment the author could not but incorporate it. There in the M. it is couched in the form of a charade and is absolutely original to have been borrowed.

From the foregoing discussion, in the absence of any direct testimony, I feel inclined to believe that the Cār. represents a very crude abridgment possibly made for stage-performance of that best specimen of the Indian theatre the M. and naturally, therefore, the author of the Cār. must have been posterior to Śūdraka.

This brings us to the consideration of the authenticity of the plays as the work of Bhāsa. If the Cārudatta is a play by the same poet,—and there is nothing that goes against this supposition, though the e is neither very strong evidence in favour of it—then clearly enough the abridgment-maker cannot be the poet whose fame was an established fact in the days of Kālidāsa. I shall now enter into the details of the question, summarising the views expressed on the point and critically evaluating them according to my lights.

II

The authenticity of the plays.

Although the name of Bhāsa was nowhere mentioned in the Mss. M. Gaṇapati Śāstri came to the conclusion that all the dramas were to be ascribed to Bhāsa principally on the following important grounds:—(i) all dramas begin with the stage-direction नान्द्यन्ते ततः प्रविशति सूत्रधारः whereas in the classical dramas we are accustomed to have the Nāndī first and then the stage-direction नान्द्यन्ते ततः etc. (ii) the prologue is called Sthāpanā everywhere in place of Prastāvanā. (iii) In the Sthāpanā is nowhere mentioned the name of the

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poet or his works unlike the classical plays. (iv)[69] The Bharatavākya ends everywhere with the prayer "May our mighty king rule the whole earth". (v) The dramas have in many places a structural similarity and in the opening verse of many of the plays the names of the principal persons are woven together; these considerations are proofs of high antiquity and also of common authorship. (vi) One of the plays is mentioned by Rājaśekhara[70] with the name of the author; it therefore stands to reason that the whole group is to be ascribed to the same poet—the poet of the Svapnavāsavadatta. (vii) About Bhāsa's stage technique we have already isolated references in dramatic literature confirming this tradition; we know from Bāṇa's Harṣacarita that the dramas of Bhāsa begin with the appearance of the Sutradhāra and are rich in persons and episodes.[71] (viii). Many rhetoricians bring in their works citations from different works of Bhāsa; e. g. Vāmana[72] cites in many places in his Kāvyālaṁkārasūtra from the Sv. Pry. and Cār.; Bhāmaha seems to criticise his Pry. and actually quotes the very words from the Pry; Dandin cites that famous stanza लिम्पतीव etc. which is found in the Bālacarita and in the Cārudatta of our poet. So Abhinavagupta in the Dhvanyāloka and the Nātyavedavivṛti refers to the Sv. though in the former he gives a stanza as occuring in the Sv. which however is not to be met with in the newly discovered play; the crowning reference, however, is the one made by Rājaśekhara who not only mentions a play by name but also definitely associates it with the name of Bhāsa.

Thus since these plays reveal the same technical peculiarities and possess many features in common, and since as already pointed

69 Dr. Max Lindenau in his Bhasa studies and Georg Morgenstierne in his 'Uber das Verhaltnis Zwichen Car. und M.' have given these arguments.

70 भासनाटकचक्रेऽपि छेकैः क्षिप्ते परीक्षितुम् ।
स्वप्नवासवदत्तस्य दाहको भून्न पावकः ॥

71 सूत्रधारकृतारम्भैर्नाटकैर्बहुभूमिकैः ।
सपताकैर्यशो लेभे भासो देवकुलैरिव ॥

72 Vamana's Kavyalamkarsutravrtti gives शरच्छशाङ्कगौरेण etc. from the 4th act of Sv. यो भर्तृपिण्डस्य etc. act 4. Pry. यासां बलिः etc. 1st act of Car. cf. Ganapati Sastri. Introduction to Sv. pages XXIV-XXV.

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out, one of them the Sv. is associated with the name of Bhāsa by Rājaśekhara, therefore, the conclusion becomes inevitable that all these plays belong to Bhāsa.

The metres[73] used in the play—especially the preponderance of the epic Śloka,—the many deviations from Pāṇini's grammar, and the Prākrit[74] of the plays point also with a compelling force to the same conclusion.

The reasons assigned by Gaṇapati Śāstri have been taken over by most European scholars and Max Lindenau says that he can corroborate the conclusions of the Indian Researcher immediately without hesitation. Dr. Barnett[75] however has vehemently questioned the title of Bhāsa and has given out the conjecture that the dramas in question belong to the 7th century.

Gaṇapati Sāstri lays great stress upon the verse सूत्रधारकृतारम्भै-र्नाटकैर्बहुभूमिकैः etc. from Harṣacarita in which in his opinion Bāṇa refers to this novel feature of Bhāsa's works that they begin with the Sūtradhāra, as is clear from the stage-direction नान्यन्ते ततः प्रविशति सूत्रधारः. Credit is given to Bhāsa for having shortened the Pūrvaraṅga so that only a benedictory stanza survived in the end. Barnett, however, has drawn attention to the fact that the Mattavilāsaprahasana of the Pallava prince Mahendravikramavarman who ruled about 620 A. D. also begins in the way in which the so-called plays of Bhāsa do. Besides the same play adopts the nomenclature of the Prologue as Sthāpanā. But as Prof. Winternitz[76] has pointed these are exactly the two points which we must strike off from the list of the arguments of Gaṇapati Śāstri; because the nomenclature Sthāpanā is not found in all the Bhāsa-plays; at any rate, in Karṇabhāra, the Prologue is named Prastāvanā just as in other classical dramas. In fact it appears that these two seem to be the characteristics of certain South-Indian Mss. also. Thus in the Tapatīsaṁvaraṇa and Subhadrādhanañjaya of Kulaśekharavarman,

73 J A. O. S. studies in Bhasa. II. Volume 41 April 1921.

74 J. A. O. S. studies in Bhasa I Vol. 40. October 1920.

75 The Bulletin of the school of Oriental studies. 1920 Vol. I part III. under Mattavilasa and Bhasa p. 35.

76 Ostasiatische zeitshrift. Jg. IX.

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in the Padmaprābhṛtaka[77] ascribed to Śūdraka, Dhūrtaviṭavilāsa of Īśvaradatta, Ubhayābhisārikā ascribed to Vararuci, and the Pādatāḍitaka of Śyāmilaka we meet with these features. So also in an unpublished Ms. of a one act play—the Kalyāṇasaugandhika of Nīlakaṇtha, important as presenting very close similarity to the one act plays of our author, we have the same beginning and the same nomenclature of Sthāpanā.

There is in this connexion a very curious discussion in the Sāhityadarpaṇa of Viśvanātha; after giving the conventional definition of a Nāndī, he says[78]

एतन्नान्दीति कस्यचिन्मतानुसारेणोक्तम् । वस्तुतस्तु 'पूर्वरङ्गस्य रङ्गद्वाराभिधानमङ्गम्' इत्यपरे ।.....कालिदासादिमहाकविप्रबन्धेषु च—'वेदान्तेषु यमाहुरेकपुरुषं व्याप्य स्थितं रोदसी' (वि. १. १) एवमादिषु नान्दीलक्षणायोगात् । उक्तं च 'रङ्गद्वारमारभ्य कविः कुर्यात्' इति । अत एव प्राक्तनपुस्तकेषु "नान्यन्ते सूत्रधारः" इत्यनन्तरमेव 'वेदान्तेषु' इत्यादिश्लोकलिखनं दृश्यते ।

this is designated Nāndī according to the opinion of some; but others say 'It is in reality the part of the Pūrvaraṅga-the Raṅgadwara:.....moreover the above (that given in the text S. D. VI. 24-25) definition of Nāndī does not hold good with respect of the following stanza of the great poet Kālidāsa वेदान्तेषु etc. Further it has been said, the poet should compose beginning with the Raṅgadwāra'. Hence it is that in the old Mss. the stanza वेदान्तेषु etc. is found written after the words "नान्यन्ते ततः प्रविशति सूत्रधारः".

This, therefore, shows that the practice of writing नान्यन्ते ततः etc. after the first verse of the drama implying thereby that the first verse of the drama is the Nāndī—is an erroneous practice—since what is meant by a Nāndī is not the maṅgalaśloka of the drama but rather a preliminary rite—the Raṅgadwāra. We further learn that what has been represented as a novel feature of these plays obtained in olden times, as in some of the oldest Mss. of the Vikramoryaśīya known to Viśvanātha the stage-direction नान्यन्ते etc. was put first before everything else. Thus instead of proving the

77 Caturbhani D. G. Sharma & Krishna. Bakerganj. Patna, 1922

78 Sahityadarpana, edited by P. V. Kane. षष्ठः परिच्छेदः Page 63.

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antiquity of the plays, this practice either represents an improvement devised with a view to reconcile dramatic practice with Bharata's theory as interpreted by old rhetoricians or points to a dramatic tradition as obtained in the South of India.

It might on the other hand be contended that the peculiarities that are referred to by Bāṇa are not to be met with in the dramas of this group. Thus Mr. P. V. Kane has shown that out of the 13 plays only five—Sv. B. Av. Abhi. and Prat.—deserve to be called Nāṭaka, while the rest can never be properly called by that name.[79] Another characteristic mentioned by Bāṇa is that they were rich in persons and episodes (Patākā). A Patākā is thus defined in the Nāṭyaśāstra—,[80]

यदवृत्तं हि परार्थं स्यात् प्रधानस्योपकारकम् ।
प्रधानवच्च कल्प्येव सा पताकेति कीर्तिता ॥

It is an episodical plot which helps on the principal plot and is subordinate to it. Now in none of the five Nāṭakas above mentioned-do we find a Patākā. These facts, therefore, prove that the works which were in Bāṇa's mind when he wrote the above stanza are different from the works in question and therefore the Bhāsa he is speaking of is different from the author of these works.

Dr Max Lindenau[81] emphasises the deviations of these plays from the Bharata-Nāṭya-āstra as an indication of high antiquity. That the Bhārata-Nāṭya-āstra was known to the author is proved beyond doubt by a reference to the same in Av. (अत्थि रामाअणं णाम णट्टसत्थं). Lindenau refers to the deviations from the present redaction of Bharata and feels assured that the plays in question furnish excellent criteria to determine earlier and later portions of the Nāṭyaśāstra. His conclusion is that the plays came to be written at a time when the regulations on dramaturgy had not fixed down in a formal science of dramaturgy. He refers to the above mentioned technical features of the Prologue; lays emphasis on the

79 कवि भास व तद्रचित नाटके. महाराष्ट्रसाहित्यपत्रिका, सप्टेंबर १९२०.
80 Natyasastra. 19-23.
81 Bhasa Studien-under Bhasa's Technik

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absence of the Prarocanā—the praise of the poet and his works. These facts—Prof. Winternitz observes—at any rate declare that these plays came forth from the same school, the same province or the same time—an opinion which will scarcely be contested.

Then referring to the Kāvyasaṁhāra prescribed by Bharata Dr. Lindenau further argues that though we come across the formal ending of the play in some, this is not uniformly the case with all the plays; and in the Av. the formula किं ते भूयः प्रियमुपकरोमि । is put twice, showing thereby that the regulation prescribing the Kāvyasaṁhāra had not settled down into a fixed rule. The most important feature of the stage technique is the description of death in these plays. Against the teaching of the text-books on dramaturgy which the classical dramas follow—the author of the epic-pauṛāṇic plays does not hesitate to describe death and even frightful death on the stage.[82] The one-act Ūrubhaṅga in which Duryodhana dies on the stage is a genuine tragedy-the only uptill now known Indian tragedy. Daśaratha dies in Prat., the monkey-king Vālin in the 1st act of Abh. In. B. The struggle with Ariṣṭa is shown on the stage and ends with the death of the demon; and in the V act not only the royal pugilists Cāṇūra and Muṣṭika but also Kaṁsa himself is killed on the open stage.

"The speed with which the proceedings go on—and Lindenau has given rightly निष्क्रम्य प्रविश्य as a peculiar indicative—can also be an indication of high antiquity as well as of common authorship" says Prof. Winterniz; quite usual is in all the Bhāsa dramas speech with persons who are not on the stage; their speeches are however repeated by characters on the stage just as in the soliloquies of Bhāṇas.

On the other hand Prof. Sylvan Levi holds that the theatre of Bhāsa conforms scrupulously[83] to the classical laws of the Indian Aristotle (Bharata). The opinion—it will be readily conceded—has to be accepted with reservation, Indeed we know from the

82 Cf. Bharata. XV111-19. (Natyasastra)

83 Quoted by Max Lindenau in his Bhasa studien in connexion with the question of Bhasa's technik.

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dramas that the various forms of dramatic representation were known to the author. Thus in Pry. he speaks of the Prakaraṇa; in the Dgh. and Prat. of the Nāṭaka. All the technical terms of Bharata such as विष्कंभक, मिश्रविष्कंभक, प्रवेशक, प्रस्तावना, have also been employed. In regard to the Bharatavākya also we find that the orthodox form of the close किं ते भूयः प्रियमुपहरामि, यदि मे भगवान् प्रसन्नः etc. is with slight variations to be met with in the following plays :— Av. (P. 110) Pry. (P. 73) Dv. (P. 48), Abh (P 75) and B. (P. 67) where the answer to the question किं ते भूयः etc. is couched in verse form.

The regulations of Bharata in regard to the employment of Prākrits by different characters according to the rank and the rôle they play-seem also to be fully observed by our author; and that to him the occasional employment of Sanskrit by a Prākrit-speaking character was also known bc omes clear from Pañc. (P. 34) where the king Virāṭa remarks to Bṛhannalā—

ऊर्जितं कर्म । संस्कृतमभिधीयताम् ।

The argument that the several deviations from the rules of Bharata above-mentioned point to a high antiquity is clearly enough—to use the technical terms of the Indian dialectician-anaikāntika (discrepant) since many even of the classical plays contain such deviations. And this is as it should be. The Indian Scholists have a mania for reduction to a rule of thumb and it is no wonder if at times the rule remained only in theory but broken in observance. The Pārvatī-pariṇaya of Bāṇa and the Viddhaśāla-bhañjikā of Rajaśekhara are instances in point. In both these plays we find that the marriage-ceremony is actually—against the rules of Dramaturgy—introduced on the stage and set forth in detail. So also in the latter (Viddhaśāla) [84] the Brāhmaṇī, wife of the Vidūṣaka, is introduced on the stage with the following direction:—

(ततः प्रविशति विदुग्धो विदूषकः सुप्ता च ब्राह्मणी ।)

and further she is represented as actually talking in her sleep—

(ब्राह्मणी उत्स्वप्नायते).

84 Viddhasalabhanjika of Rajasekhara. B. R. Arte. Poona. 1886.

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As to the introduction of battle on the stage, we find in the MS. of the Kalyāṇasaugandhika already referred to, that twice in that one-act play we have the following stage directions:—

(उभौ युद्धं कुरुतः)

(गदया भग्नः प्रहरणमपविध्य सभयं पलायमानः निष्क्रान्तो राक्षसः।).

and further on— (उभौ मुष्टिभिः प्रहृत्य युद्धं कुरुतः।) In fact this one-act piece presents so many points of agreement both of technique and expression, that it will be certainly of interest to examine it from this point of view. The story is from the Mahābhārata where Bhīmasena to please Draupadī proceeds to the Gandhamādana mountain to bring therefrom Saugandhika flowers. There he comes upon a beautiful lake full of those flowers, and encounters a Rākṣasa, an attendant of Kubera, on guard in that place. Soon they close in combat and the Rākṣasa with broken limbs takes to his heels just to save him-self; then Bhīma plucks the flowers and returning with them meets a plaintain-grove which he wantonly damages. Enraged at this insult the owner of the place Hanumāna bids him not to leave that place without his permission and stands fronting him. Bhīma tries to brush aside the old monkey but the latter does not budge an inch from his ground; whereupon there ensues a fight with fists. In the meanwhile bidden by Indra a Vidyādhara and a Vidyādharī hurry to the place to remind both that they were brothers—being sons of Vāyu, the god of wind; whereupon both embrace each other, and Hanumāna promises to help the Pāṇḍavas and the drama closes with the usual Bharatavākya.

I have pointed out that the MS. presents the same form of the Prologue. Further we have the familiar formulae

अये किन्नु खलु मयि सज्जननियोगानुष्ठानव्यग्रे शब्द इव श्रूयते। अङ्ग पश्यामि।.

The introduction of the main scene is also, brought about exactly in the same manner as in the Bhāsa plays :—

(नेपथ्ये)

भीम न खलु न खलु गन्तव्यम्। आज्ञाणि एव्वहि।

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सूत्रधारः—

भवतु विज्ञातम्— अगाग्रादप्राप्यं मरुदुपहृतं दिव्यकुसुमं
गुणाढ्यं पश्यन्त्या द्विगुणितमुदा नूतनतया ।
बहूनिच्छामीति द्रुपदसुतया भीमसुदितं
प्रयान्तं संरोद्धुं व्रजति सकलत्रो मुनिवरः ॥

Further verbal agreements are the following:—अहो हास्यमभिधानम्; विस्मृतः समुदाचारः; the metronymic कुन्तीमातः; Māruti's lament that without Rāma his life is a burden to him, just in the manner of Sumantra in Pratimā परमिव वञ्चनमेव दीर्घमायुः—so Sumantra in Prat. गुण इव बद्धपराद्धमायुषा मे । (VI-8); the expression रणशिरसि so common in Bhāsa and the name कात्यायनी in place of कात्यायनी as in the Bālacarita, are also employed here. The Prākrit also shows the same peculiarities The only difference, therefore, between this and the Bhāsa plays is that the name of the poet is mentioned in the Prologue.

A. Banerji[85] Śāstri has put together all these deviations from Bharata above discussed among others which include the following:—"that the Pratijñā is an Ihāmṛga with four acts and a battle in connexion with women. But Bhāsa's colophon claims it as a Nātikā." Now the learned writer does not seem to have realised that the name printed in the colophon is not the only name of the play; for we find in the foot-note that one ms. gives the name as

प्रतिज्ञायौगन्धरायणं समाप्तं, वत्सराजचरितं समाप्तम् ।

From this it is difficult to say which name was given by the author himself to the work; and therefore to base any conclusion on such an insecure foundation is extremely hazardous.

Let us now turn to examine the Prākṛit of the plays. In an article contributed to the Z. D. M. G. 1918 entitled "The stage of development of the Prākṛit in Bhāsa's dramas and the Bhāsa epoch" Prof. Lesny tries to solve the question of the composition of these dramas on linguistic grounds. He has examined the characteristics of the Prākṛit of these plays by comparing them with the Prākṛit of Aśvaghoṣa on the one hand, and of Kālidāsa

85 The Journal of the Bihar and Orisa Research society' March 1923. Bhasa. pp. 49-113,

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on the other and has proved that the plays are older than Kālidāsa and younger than Aśvaghoṣa. A. Banarji Śāstri[86] criticizes this view and while accepting that the Prākṛit shows an older phase than that of Kālidāsa, suggests that the learned writer while admitting the striking similarity between the forms used by Aśvaghoṣa and the Trivandrum author, has rather emphasised points of divergence between them : and Mr. Banerji feels confident that the supposed differerences might disappear to a large extent if more facts from Aśvaghoṣa were available to supplement the very scanty materials at hand. He, therefore, concludes that the Trivandrum author was immediatley after if not contemporary with Aśvaghoṣa. Dr. Sukthankar[87] has also studied the same problem and has set forth a number of peculiarities of vocabulary and grammar in which the Prākṛit of our dramas differs from that of the dramas of Kālidāsa and other classical writers. He has pointed out affinities between the Prākrit of the dramas in question and of Aśvaghoṣa and herein he has fortunately stranded upon a solid bedrock of archaic Prākṛit which without doubt would bear him to a satisfactory issue of the problem !

One is certainly amused with these frantic efforts of scholars to relegate our author to a time prior to Kālidāsa on what is in fact insufficient data. While all deplore the loss of Aśvaghoṣa's works, they hazard conclusions from the little crumbs left by time. We feel that in their reasonings these scholars are obsessed by the consideration that Kālidāsa does mention an old poet Bhāsa, and who could he be—they think—other than the one whose works have been unearthed and have again seen the light of day through the worthy zeal of the curator of Trivandrum ? *Ex hypothesi* the prākṛit is older than that of Kālidāsa.

Here are the archaisms of Prākṛit in these plays—1. अह्मअं–Dr. Sukthankar admits that the very same characters use the later form अह्माणं founded on the analogy of the thematic nominal basis ; this

86 The plays of Bhasa. J. R. A. S. July. 1921.
87 J. A. O. S. volume 40 October 1920.

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promiscuous use of the doublets points to a period of transition. The conclusion however is based upon insufficient data. In the Mattavilāsaprahasana, we find that these doublets are promiscuously used as in the following places:—

Mattavilāsa p. 9 अह्माअं पि एत्थ भिक्खा रुद्दभाओ भविस्सदि ।
,, p. 12 अह्माणं तरुणजणाणं मच्छरेण ।
,, p. 16 ण वड्ढदि अह्माणं ।
,, p. 18 धम्मो खु अह्माणं विसमपदिदाणुकम्पा ।
,, p. 19 अह्माअं बुद्धधम्मं सरणं गच्छामि ।
,, p. 24 अह्माअं पुण अहिचम्मभूदिमत्तविभवस्स ।
,, p. 26 एशे खु अह्माणं आआळिए शूळनन्दी । etc.

so also in Subhadrādhanañjaya the form अह्माअं is used side by side with the usual अह्माणं e. g.

p. 33 अह्माअं संबन्धिवग्गो ।.

2 Root अर्ह्—This is what Dr. Sukthankar has to say about it:— "Twice the root appears in Prākṛit passages in these dramas with unassimilated conjunct. *A priori* the conjunct rh seems hardly admissible in a Prākṛit dialect. Yet we find in Aśvaghoṣa "Arhessi" which therefore convincingly proves that rh was admissible in his days. We can only conjuncture as Prof. Lüders does, that the conjunct rh was still pronounced without the Svarabhakti" so on and so forth.

We find the form णार्हदि–in Mattavilāsa also as under–णार्हदि मम नामकेणाभिधादुं । Page 6.

3 अहके:—This form occurs only once in these dramas. As Dr. Sukthankar has pointed out, this form is perfectly regular and is specially noitced in the Prākṛitaprakāśa of Vararuci. Pischel encloses this form in square brackets, indicating thereby that there are no instances of its use in the available manuscripts. Now whether it is merely a grammarian's abstraction as Dr. Sukthankar understands it, will be decided by the following considerations.

Dr. Sukthankar has indicated in a foot-note that his attention was drawn to the use of this Māgadhi अहके several times in the Devanāgari recension of the Śākuntala. Yet he seems to be firm

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in regarding अहके as an archaic form. "The statement that अहके is archaic is none the less correct." Whether it is archaic or not we leave the experts to judge; we find that in the Subhadrā-Dhanañjaya of Kulaśekharavarman the form अहके is used several times :—

p. 134 अहके पुव्वं पि पत्थपळक्कमदंसणे पवड्ढिअकुदूहळे ।

p. 134 अहके दाव शिहळदळं आळूढे ।

So in the Tapatīsaṁvaraṇa of the same author, this form is used.—

p. 143 अहके ळोशपळित्ता माआदण्डेहि तिक्खमोक्खेहि ।

As Kulaśekharavarman is placed by Gaṇapati Śāstri between the latter part of the 10th century and the early part of the 12th century—there seems to be no reason to suppose that the form अहके is merely a grammarian's abstraction.

4 आम :—This affirmative particle is used many times and in all dialects alike in these works. Why is this to be regarded as an archaism is not made clear by any one. The fact that it occurs in Pāli and the Turfan manuscripts of Aśvaghoṣa's dramas proves nothing. We find that आम is used even in classical literature as the following references sufficiently testify :—

Kālidāsa uses this particle in Vikramorvaśīya—

(S. P. Pandit's edition)

p. 70 आम । तहिं उव्वसीए वअणं पमादस्खलिदमासि ।

p. 86 आम । हंपि जदा मिट्ठहरिणीमंसभोअणं ण लहे । etc.

So in Tapatīsaṁvaraṇa

p. 32 आम सुदो । को पुण एदिणा महाराअस्स अवराहो ।

p. 104 आम जङ्गमो ।.

So in Subhadrādhanañjaya

p. 57 आम सद्दाविदासि । किं पुण वत्तुकामासि ।

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We also find the particle used in Gāthās in the Gāthāsaptaśatī (V. 17, VI. 78) and Ānandavardhana has cited (V. 17) from the Gāthāsaptaśaṭī.

How far, therefore, is the statement of Mm. Haraprasāda Śāstri that "there is one word which is never used by later poets but which is found only in Pāli works which shows its antiquity—and that word is आम 'yea'" correct becomes evident from the above-given citations.

5 करिअ. According to Pischel the use of करिअ is confined exclusively to the Nāgarī and South-Indian recension of Śākuntala and Mālavikā. Dr. Sukthankar thinks this is an archaic form as it occurs in the Turfan manuscripts of Aśvaghoṣa's dramas; but how on that account can it indicate a very high antiquity of any work in which the form may occur, is not easily conceivable. The form occurs in Tapatīsaṁvaraṇa (P. 42. पिअसहिं तवदिं उच्छङ्गे करिअ P. 204 किदमळणववशाअं कळिअ;); also in Subhadrā-Dhanañjaya (p. 80 कं पि अपुव्वं अइरप्पहं करिअ) (p. 80 ताए वि सव्वं करिअ, and at p. 10 and p. 135). It is noteworthy that the form कदुअ never occurs in the last two works. It proves beyond doubt, therefore, that the form करिअ was current in South-India till about the 10th century, and therefore its occurence in the South-Indian recensions of the Śākuntala may be a vagary of the scribes, though we cannot say anything definitely on the point. Similarly also the form गच्छिअ occurs in Kālidāsa—

Mālavikā-Bollensen's edition

p. 67 इरावती—णिउणिए गछिअ देविं विण्णवेहि।

6 किस्स, किश्श and दिस्स्, दिश्श.

We meet with the Māgadhī किश्श् in Mattavilāsa p. 27. किश्श् मं छुन्धत्ति।; while दिस्सइ in place of the usual form दीसदि is met with so many times in Kālidāsa. (cf. Vikramorvaśīya—S. P. Pandit's edition P. 89. where for राएसि-महिसी दीसदि one Ms. gives us दिस्सइ; so at page 58 हन्त ण दीसदि—several Mss. give दिस्सदि।)

Thus we find that both किस्स् and कीस् (and their Māgadhī equivalents) and दिस्स् and दीस् (and also the Māgadhī forms) per-

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sisted on to the days of Kālidāsa and of Mahendravikramavarman. There is, therefore, no ground to suppose that their use in our plays is an indication of high antiquity.

7 ख्ख—(खल्ल). In the Mattavilāsa and also in the works of Kulaśekharvarman we find that खल्ल is represented in Prākrit (both Śaurasenī and Māgadhī) by ख्ख–sometimes by ड्ड; but nowhere do we find the doubling of the initial, though the common usage seems to be that after short vowels and after e and o we should have ख्ख, after long vowels ख्ख. So the occurrence of this peculiarity in the works of the Trivandrum poet has nothing unusual in it, and gives no clue to the age of the writer.

8 Of तुवं Sukthankar says "this form in which the assimilation has not yet taken effect, disappeared from the Prākrit of later dramas, which substitute तुमं in its place"—a wholly unwarranted statement; for especially in the South Indian dramas which we have examined we find this form frequently used side by side with तुमं as in the works in question. Even he who runs may read that nine times out of ten does the form तुवं occur in them.

9 वअं this form occurs only thrice in our plays. The usual form अह्मे is also to be met with as is quite expected. We find the form वयं is also used by Kālidāsa (Vikrama. p. 89 अन्तरिदा वयम्) where it stands for वअम्; and we have sanction for this form of ancient authorities like Vararuci and Mārkaṇḍeya.

I have thus shown that the peculiarities of vocabulary and grammar above discussed are to be met with in the dramas of the classical period and especially in South-Indian dramas. I have shown that in some instances the archaic and the more modern are used side by side in these dramas also, as in the dramas of the Trivandrum poet, e. g. अह्माअं and अह्माणं; तुमं, तुवं; किस्स, कीस; दिस्स् and दीस्; in other instances we find that the so-called archaic forms are used to the exclusion of later forms as अहके, करिअ. I have sufficiently proved that the forms अहके and आम are known to later Prākrit. In all these the South-Indian plays we examined offer an exact parallel to the Trivandrum plays, and hence the Prākṛit of the plays gives not the least ground to suppose that the plays

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belong to a period anterior to the classical period. The same remarks apply also to the peculiarities of the Māgadhī of these plays pointed out by Banerji Śāstri. Over and above these we find that ry is represented by yy in these plays as also in the South-Indian plays, jñ is changed into ññ or strengthened into ṇṇ in the Mattavilāsa as in these plays.

The many deviations from Pāṇini are further adduced as a proof of the great antiquity of these plays. But as Dr. Winternitz has admitted, too much importance cannot be attached to this argument, because such deviations come also in the epic-legendary literature and even in very later texts. They can as well be proof for the later date of the author as for the ancient one of the same. And in fact as Dr. Sukthankar has shown, our dramatist derives his authority for the use of the irregular forms from epic usage. He has proved beyond doubt that the solecisms of these plays can with but insignificant exceptions be specifically traced back to the epics. So also of the preponderence of Śloka it can be very well said that it illustrates in a striking manner how deeply he is indebted to the epic sources of his inspiration; but that it is no proof of high antiquity.

Then again Bhāsa knows the Mbh. almost in the same form in which we now possess it. The Pañc. shows that the 4th book of the Mahābhārata was known to him in the same form in which it is known to us. The author knows not only[88] the full legend of Kṛṣṇa, but Kṛṣṇa as well as Rāma are to him incarnations of the highest God Viṣṇu. Neither the herd-God Kṛṣṇa nor Rāma is known to us as incarnations of Viṣṇu in inscriptions dating before the Christian era. Further in the body of the plays a few literary works are referred to whose pre-Christian origin is at least doubtful.

It is suggested that Medhātithi[89] who is spoken of as the author of a Nyāyaśāstra, is possibly the famous Bhāṣyakāra of

88. Winternitz Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur. III. Band.

89 P. V. Kane. कवि भास व तद्रचित नाटकें. (सप्टेंबर 1920. महाराष्ट्रसा. प.).

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Manu. If this identity is established then centainly our author will have to be relegated to the classical period; but the identity is doubtful.[90]

Dr. Winternitz suggests that as the Bhāsa-plays are nearer to those of Kālidāsa from the point of language and style than to those of Aśvaghoṣa, and as Aṣvaghoṣa with greater probability lived in the 2nd century after Christ, Bhāsa might have composed his dramas not before the end of the third century, probably in the 4th century after Christ. Sten Konow places Bhāsa in the last quarter of the 2nd century after Christ. Dr. Winternitz has pointed out that this assumption rests upon the weak hypothesis that Śūdraka, the author of Mṛcchakaṭika, lived in the first half of the 3rd century and a yet weaker hypothesis that the king Rājasimha referred to in the Bharatavākyas of several plays of the group is identical with the Kṣatrapa Rudrasiṁha I (end of the 2nd century after Christ).

The conclusion of Dr. Winternitz that Bhāsa belongs to the 4th century after Christ, however, rests upon the identification of our author with the famous poet referred to by Kālidāsa. As we have uptill now made clear, there is not the least reason to suppose that our author belongs to the pre-classical epoch; he may therefore be even later than Kālidāsa, unless of course his identity with the predecessor of Kālidāsa is clearly established. Now there are serious objections in the way of such an identification. In the first place the Svapnavāsavadatta which is spoken of by Rājaśekhara is more likely not the work which now passes under that name. There are several references to Sv. in works of literary

90. Dr. Keith (BSOS, Vol. III. part IV 623-5) and Dr. V. S. Sukthankar (BBRAS. Vol. 1 No. I. 131-132) have argued that the Nyayasastra must be an independent Sastra and not merely a subsidiary work—a commentary on the Manaviya Dharmasastra mentioned previously in the passage : the context requires that the Nyayasastra cited here must be of the same order as the other Sastras, otherwise the supposition that Ravana mentions with pride his study of Medhatithi's commentary on Manu, involves such an absurd anachronism, that even a plagiarist of the tenth or eleventh century would not commit such a blunder Dr Keith further tries to prove that Medhatithi's Nyayasastra is a reference to the Nyayasastra ascribed by tradition to Gautama, and cites in this connexion the following from the late Dr Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana's history of Indian Logic " In the Mahabharata we find that Medhatithi and Gautama were the names of the same person, one being his proper name, and the other his family name,"

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criticism which are references not to the Svapnavāsavadatta now discovered. The Āryā

सञ्चितपक्ष्मकपाटं नयनद्वारं स्वरूपतडनेन ।
उद्घाट्य सा प्रविष्टा हृदयगृहं मे नृपतनूजा ॥

which is cited by Abhinavagupta as belonging to the Sv. is not to be met with in the play now discovered. Similarly in Sarvānanda's Tīkāsarvasva we find the following reference—

त्रिविधः शृङ्गारो धर्मार्थकामभिन्नः । तत्राद्यो यथा नन्दयन्त्यां ब्राह्मणभोजनम् । द्वितीयः स्वादेशमात्मसात्कर्तुमुदयनस्य पद्मावतीपरिणयोर्थशृङ्गारः । तृतीयः स्वप्नवासवदत्ते तस्यैव वासवदत्ता-परिणयः कामशृङ्गारः ।.

Bhaṭṭanātha[91] Svāmin has pointed out that the Sv. quoted by Sarvānanda is an entirely different work and has for its plot Vāsavadattā's and not Padmāvatī's marriage with Udayana. Now as the learned editor of Bhāsa's works has argued—the verse quoted by Abhinavagupta is a lover's expression of the depth of his love on first beholding his beloved and that there is no room for such an expression in the present Sv. But such a verse is quite in place in a work where the poet describes the springing up of love at first sight such as that of Udayana for Vāsavadattā. The third reference to a drama which has for its plot the love of Udayana and Vāsavadattā is that from the Mālatī-Mādhava—वासवदत्ता च संजयाय राज्ञे पित्रा दत्तमात्मानमुदयनाय प्रायच्छत्[92] ।. This is preceded by two references one to Śākuntala and the other to Urvaśī. These were understood by the late Dr. Bhandarkar to be allusions to the Abhijñāna-Śākuntala and Vikramorvaśīya. So the third must also be an allusion to a drama that has the marriage of Udayana and Vāsavadattā for its

91 Indian Antiquary, December 1916. p. 189-195.

92 There is an incomplete drama which has the same theme as that of the Pratijnayaugandharayana styled the Vinavasavadattam, which has numerous points of semblance with the plays of the Trivandrum group Its prologue is short, and further there is no mention of the author's name—the usual Prarocana is altogether wanting. From the first act, we gather that Sanjaya was one of the several suitors of Vasavadatta and further that Mahasena had already promised Vasavadatta to Sanjaya and accepted Sulka from him (संजयाय दास्यामीति शुल्कं प्रतिगृह्य तस्मै न दत्तवानिति नन्वस्माकमयशः ।).—A transcript of the original Ms. in the possession of Dr. Belvalkar to whose kindness I owe the above information.

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subject. Now the story of Udayana and Vāsavadattā, as given by the commentators of Megha, is very probably the one alluded to by Bhavabhūti. What is remarkable in the story is that the dream-motif is clearly mentioned as forming an item of it.

So it is probable that a drama on the love of Vāsavadattā and Udayana properly named Svapna-Vāsavadattā exists; and that, unless we assume this, the references above given cannot be satisfactorily explained.

It may, however, be contended that Sarvānanda is not necessarily referring to a separate work to illustrate Arthaśṛṅgāra, and Kāmaśṛṅgāra, but that both kinds of Śṛṅgāra are to be met with in the Svapnavāsavadatta alluded to by him.

We have further the following reference to Svapnavāsavadatta from the Śṛṅgāraprakāśa of Bhojadeva—

स्वप्नवासवदत्ते पद्मावतीमस्वस्थां द्रष्टुं राजा समुद्रगृहकं गतः । पद्मावतीरहितं च तदवलोक्य तस्या एव शयने सुष्वाप । वासवदत्तां च स्वप्नवदस्वप्ने ददर्श । स्वप्नायमानश्च वासवदत्तामाबभाषे । स्वप्नशब्देन चेह स्वापो वा स्वप्नदर्शनं वा स्वप्नायितं वा विवक्षितम् ।.

The incidents described here are all of them found in the fifth act of the Trivandrum play. Another important citation is from the Bhāvaprakāśa of Śāradā-tanaya where the author describes the five kinds (Jātis) of Nāṭakas, Pūrṇa, Praśānta, Bhāsvara, Lalita, and Samagra as enumerated by Subandhu; and then after defining a Praśānta Nāṭaka, he cites the Svapnavāsavadatta as a drama belonging to this variety. He then proceeds to point out the several stages in the action of the play which correspond with the five sandhis—(न्यासो न्याससमुद्भेदो बीजोक्तिर्बीजदर्शनम् । ततेऽनुद्दिष्टसंहारः प्रशान्ते पञ्च सन्धयः ।) mentioned by Subandhu. These two citations according to Mm. Gaṇapati Śāstri are authoritative enough to establish beyond question the authenticity of the anonymous work as the work of Bhāsa.

But it is not easy to prove the identity of the Svapnavāsavadatta mentioned by Śāradātanaya and the Trivandrum play. On the other hand it is disproved by the above-mentioned citation. For there is nothing in the Trivandrum work corresponding to the second sandhi—the Nyāsasamudbheda. Śāradātanaya says :—

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पद्मावत्या मुखं वीक्ष्य विशेषकविशोषितम् ।
जीवत्यावन्तिकेत्येतद् ज्ञातं भूमिभुजा यथा ॥

The king knows that Vāsavadattā was alive on seeing that the face of Padmāvatī was adorned with a peculiar saffron mark. Now we learn from the Kathāsaritsāgara[93] that Vāsavadattā disguised as Āvantikā once attended to the toilet of Padmāvatī and that she decorated her with the peculiar mark which she herself had learnt of Vatsarāja.

'अथ वासवदत्तास्याश्चक्रे देव्याः प्रसङ्गतः ।
अम्लानमालातिलकौ वत्सेशात् पूर्वशिक्षितौ ॥'

When Vatsarāja saw Padmāvatī thus adorned, he asked the latter :—

.....राजा[94] पद्मावतीं रहः ।
पप्रच्छ मालातिलकौ केनेमौ ते कृताविति ॥

And Padmāvatī made answer

आवन्तिकाभिधा यैषा तस्याः शिल्पमिदं महत् ॥

There can be no reasonable doubt that the Svapnavāsavadatta referred to by Śāradātanaya contained some such incident, and it is conceivable that the king felt a vague presentiment that Vāsavadattā was alive. This important incident is however not found in the Trivandrum Sv. Mr. K. Dhruva,[95] has suggested a very novel solution of this difficulty by pointing out that the following speech of the Vidūṣaka in the V act :—

अज्ज खु देवीविओअविहुरहिअअस्स तत्तहोदो वच्छराअस्स पदुमावदीपाणिग्गहणसमीरिअस्स अचन्तसुहावहे मङ्गळोसवे मदणगिदाहो अहिअदरं वड्ढइ ।

should be thus amended

अज्ज खु अचन्तसुहावहे पदुमावदीपाणिग्गहणमहुस्सवे तत्तहोदो वच्छराअस्स देवीवअणविसेसअदंसणसमीरिदो वासवदत्ताविओअग्गिदाहो अहिअं वड्ढदि ।

a wholly unwarranted emendation which deserves no further comment.

93 Book III. 2-31
94 Book. III. 2-101-2.
95 स्वप्नवासवदत्त उपर नवो प्रकाश.

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The most important reference, however, is the one given by Prof. Levi in his notice of two new treatises on Indian Dramaturgy. (J. A. 1923, P.197-217). Here for the first time we get a verse which is specifically connected with Bhāsa and with a drama written by Bhāsa; the Nāṭyadarpaṇa of Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra gives the following :—

यथा भासकृते स्वप्नवासवदत्ते शेफालिकाशिलातलमवलोक्य वत्सराजः—

पादाक्रान्तानि पुष्पाणि सोष्म चेदं शिलातलम् ।
नूनं काचिदिहासीना मां दृष्ट्वा सहसानता (गता?) ॥

From the fact that this verse is not found in the Trivandrum play, Prof. Levi concludes that the Sv. of the Trivandrum group is a later version of the Sv. of Bhāsa; Prof. Levi further adds that the Trivandrum play has preserved for us the dislocated elements of this scene (act IV, sc. I after the prologue).

Now it is suggested that there is really no great 'dislocation' of the elements of the original scene as remarked by Prof. Levi, and all that is needed is the replacement of the ND verse in the Trivandrum play at the point where there is without doubt a hiatus in the Sv. The situation may be recapitulated thus : in the first scene after the prologue to act IV, Padmāvatī and Āvantikā have come to the pleasure-garden. Padmāvatī's maid requests them to seat themselves on a stone-bench near the Śephālikā bower, while she herself departs to pluck flowers. Presently the Vidūṣaka and the king are discovered coming towards them, and Padmāvatī proposes to her friend that in order to avoid them, they should move to a neighbouring jasmin bower. The king and his companion approach the Śephālikā bower, and the jester abruptly remarks :—

तत्तभोदी पदुमावदी इह आअच्छिअ णिग्गदा भवे ।

Here just before this remark, there is a lacuna in the Sv. which will be properly filled up by the ND verse ; for in the absence of such a verse, it is hard to explain why the jester should make this 'curious, unmotivated remark'.

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The other treatise on dramaturgy noticed by Prof. Levi also gives an important reference bearing upon the present question. Sāgaranandin in his Nāṭaka-lakṣaṇa-ratna-kośa, while discussing the manner of transition from the prologue to the main scene, cites the Svapnavāsavadatta—

यथा स्वप्नवासवदत्ते । नेपथ्ये सूत्रधारः । उत्सारणां श्रुत्वा पठति । अये कथं तपोवनेऽप्युत्सारणा । (विलोक्य) कथं मन्त्री योगन्धरायणो वत्सराजस्य राज्यप्रत्यानयनं कर्तुकामः पद्मावतीयजनेनोत्सार्यते ।

This extract from Sv. cited by Sāgaranandin is not found in our play; evidently the prologue of the Sv. cited above was worded differently from the Trivandrum Sv. although the elements revealed by the extract are found in our Sv. On the evidence of these two extracts discovered by Prof. Levi it is suggested that the Trivandrum Sv. is a southern recension of the drama of Bhāsa.[96] And in support of this view, are brought forward the several variations in the texts of Kālidāsa's works as presented especially by the Bengali and Devanāgarī recensions of these works. Certainly no one would think even for a moment that works of such high age are preserved to us exactly in the form in which they left the hands of the dramatist. But the problem of the Sv. is altogether different from the problem of the different recensions of Kālidāsa's work. For it has been already pointed out that some two stanzas are missing from our work, while the Prologue bears the evidence of being freely handled. In fact it will have to be admitted that the Prologue is different from the original and is adapted to the Malayalam stage. It is interesting in this connection to bear in mind the peculiar tradition of the Cākyārs to which attention is drawn by K. Rama Pisharodi. He says that for every act that these Cākyārs stage, they have their set introduction or 'Interlogue'. Thus the opening verse of the fourth act of Sv. styled by them as the Śephālikāṁkam runs as follows[97] :—

श्रीवत्सराजद्युतिशालिवक्षा नमस्यया वासवदत्तयाढ्या ।
वसन्तकालेन्दुसमानवक्त्रा पद्मावती पातु हरेस्तनुर्वः ॥

96 Sukthankar, the Bhasa riddle : A proposed solution. J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. I. 1. 137—138. Sarup, the Vision of Vasavadatta Intro. p. 29-35.

97 B. S O. S. Vol. III. p. IV 640-41.

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This evidently bears close resemblance to the introductory verse of our Sv. Noteworthy especially is the awkward effort to bring in all the characters of the act by what is technically called the Mudrālaṁkāra.

Further the following stanza from Dandin seems also to have belonged to the original Sv. of Bhāsa, although nothing specific has been said by the author :—

मृतेति प्रेत्य सङ्गन्तुं यया मे मरणं मतम् ।
सैषावन्ती मया लब्धा कथमत्रैव जन्मनि ॥ Kāvyādarśa II. 280.

So that the only legitimate conclusion from all this evidence is that the TSS. play is merely a stage-version of the original play; and so far as an abridgement can be called a recension, the present play may be regarded as one. Only it will have to be borne in mind that the lacunae in the play as discovered by the various citations are fairly distributed to justify the conclusion that the present play is an adaptation, while the synopsis of the play given by Śāradātanaya argues that some scenes are wanting in this stage-version. This conclusion further strengthens the view expressed earlier in this paper that the Cārudatta is a stage-version of the Mr. while it is possible to believe that the legendary plays of this group may be similar adaptations, so that the many similarities of style, situation, idea and formal technique, although they point to a common authorship, are possible of another explanation: these plays may be the product of a class of writers who belonged to one common school, and worked for a common end.

An attempt was made a few years ago to identify Bhāsa with the author of the Ratnāvalī on the strength of a few verses which have been alleged to be from the Kavivimarśa of Rājaśekhara. In support of this view Mr. S. M. Paranjapye brought forward a few analogies and parallelisms between the Bhāsa plays and the works of Śrīharṣa—the Ratnāvalī, the Nāgananda and the Priyadarśikā.

But the whole attempt is already discredited as subversive of the accepted chronology of Indian writers. And besides the entire

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change in the character of Udayana of the Sv. and of the Ratnāvalī—the one whose love is of the spirit and the other who would rather say 'flesh is weak, sir! flesh is weak' every time he sees a new and beautiful face—will prove beyond question the ineptitude of the above hypothesis.

We have thus shown that the Svapna-vāsavadatta spoken of by Rājaśekhara and referred to by several ancient poets and critics cannot be identified with the play now passing under that name. And as the question of the authenticity of these plays depends mainly though not entirely upon such an identification, we feel justified in assuming that the writer of the dramas now passing under the name of Bhāsa is some obscure southern poet who may be placed in the VII century A. D. as Barnett does, though the question of his time cannot be definitely settled for want of adequate data.

Merits.

Art expresses best what is normal to the artist. It will not be, therefore, doubted that the poet is at his best in the epic-paurāṇic plays. The epic source of his inspiration has been proved beyond doubt from his imagery, his diction, as well as the many metrical and grammatical solecisms in his works. The simplicity of his style and the brilliance in many places of the dialogue are certainly points in favour of the artist. Remarkable also is the swiftness with which the action rushes on towards the close; there are no intricasies—there are no impediments—it is one all-sweeping current that leads us towards the conclusion.

This is especially the case, as already stated, of the Mahābhārata plays. The relative uniformity of style, the simplicity of the plot, and the directness and the uninterrupted course of the action indicate that these belong to the first works of the poet. Although the matter is chosen from the epic, and although there is the preponderance of verse over prose which fact reminds strongly of their epic origin, the poet has nevertheless succeeded in these one-act plays to give an uncommon dramatic treatment to them The poet has in several places introduced innovations of his own

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where the original was flat and ineffectual. The well-known precept of the author of the Dhvani-kārikās[98],

इतिवृत्तवशायत्तां त्यक्त्वाननुगुणां स्थितिम् ।
उत्प्रेक्ष्योऽप्यन्तराभीष्टरसोचितकथोन्नयः ॥

is observed with proper judgment, and the interest of novelty is thus secured to a plot which had nothing new in it for the audience.

99 The fable of the one-act drama—Madhyamavyāyoga is freely invented by the poet by utilizing the episode of the giant Baka and the Brahmin-family. In the Dūtavākya the poet introduces a painting, which represents the half-clad Draupadī dragged by the hair in the hall. We are given an exact description of the picture through the words of Duryodhana. The Dutaghaṭotkaca like the preceding is also a feeble one-act play serving the glorification of Kṛṣṇa. This poor fable is the invention of the poet, because the Mbh. does not know of an embassy of Ghaṭotkaca—which occupies but a little part of the story—in connexion with the tragic death of Abhimanyu.

The Karṇabhāra is certainly a very noble piece where the greatness of Karṇa reaches the heights of sublimity and grandeur. The noble warrior is filled with sad thoughts—shadows perhaps of the coming doom—and after an amount of spirit-strivings recovers the serenity of mind, a placid calm which supported him under the imminent doom. The whole play is charged with the atmosphere of pathos.

The Ūrubhaṅga is also the most significant of the one-act plays. Not only is the language of great skill and beauty, but also the dramatising of the subject is carried through with great skill. Both in verse and prose the author proves himself as the master of Kāvya—style. Extraordinarily pathetic is the scene where Durjaya seeks his father on the battle-field, and no less affecting the final portion of the drama where all come together—the heavily-wounded king, with his hoary and blind father and the vernerable Gāndhārī

98 Dhvanyaloka. p 144.

99 Winternitz Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur.

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his mother to whom he addresses only one prayer that she should be his mother again in the next birth.

The peculiar invention of the poet in the Pañcarātra among others is 'the captivity of Abhimanyu which gives an occasion to quite a dramatic scene between father and son. Remarkable also is the description of the conflagration which is carried on with great vivacity'; so also the beautiful idyll of the herdsmen and their ways—which is again to be met with in the Bālacarita. In this latter work also the poet has caught hold of the dramatic element from the known legend and in many places invents thereupon with dramatic skill. All wonderful deeds of the godly hero are brought forth some very skilfully on the stage—others in short, lively narrations. The scene of the horrible apparitions that crowd round Kaṁsa—the curse of the Ṛṣi as a Cāṇḍāla and the Cāṇḍāla young women dressed in black—produces a strange and weird effect and is the invention of our author.

The Pratimā gives the Rāma-story as contained in Bk. II-III of the great epic. But in the first three acts and in the V act the poet has invented the old legend freely in many places. The action again as in other plays of this group unfolds itself extraordinarily quickly. The abduction of Sītā by Rāvaṇa as represented by the poet is original.

What is simply mentioned in the VII act of the Pratimā is dealt at length in the Abhiṣeka. Here also the poet differs in many peculiarities from the epic.

Of the other group of these plays—the legendary—the Svapna-vāsavadatta is admittedly the most powerful. We have already remarked the atmosphere of tragic irony which permeates the whole play. The second Vatsa play has the contest between the two ministers Bharatarohaka and Yaugandharāyaṇa as the principal motive in the dramatic development. The least successful of the plays are the Avimāraka and the Cārudatta. It is indeed strange that the poet who has written so noble a drama as the Svapna should stoop to write of the importunate longings of the flesh, that drive young people to illicit ways. The Cārudatta has

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already been fully examined and the many crudities and defects are given in details. It is to be remarked of this latter group that the execution is far short of the conception—and the language employed is in many places full of obscurities. This is especially so in the Pratijñā and the Cārudatta.

As for the style of the poet, it is certainly simple and direct. Yet it is not entirely free from the artificialities of the classical play as the appendix will make clear. Many figures of speech are employed—figures both of Śabda and Artha, and at times there is a great straining after effect. Oftentimes the figure of speech sahokti is beautifully employed. I need not say anything of the metrical and grammatical solecisms which have been explained away on the ground of epic usage.

The splitting up of a stanza into bits—each of which is taken up by different characters—is another remarkable feature of his style. For quickness of repartee, and the dazzling play of dialogue this device is admirably suited.

On the whole we may say that we have before us a simple art and a simple unassuming poet to deal with. Without the imagination, the wit and the grace of Kālidāsa, or the power and depth of Bhavabhūti, or the humour and skill and the world-wide sympathy of Śūdraka, he has nevertheless proved himself a tolerable artist, and we feel that some critics go too far when they regard these plays as pieces which are improvised for some solemn occasion—a festival or a gathering.

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APPENDIX A.

The longer prose passages in these plays are written in an artificial style, with copious use of alliteration and yamakas. The following lists are by no means exhaustive.

(i) अभिषेक (p. 2) रघुकुलप्रदीपस्य सर्वलोकनयनाभिरामस्य रामस्य च सुविपुलमहाग्रीवस्य सुग्रीवस्य च । हेममालिनं वालिनं हन्तुम् etc.

„ „ (p. 58–59.) समरमुखनिरस्तप्रहस्तनिकुम्भकर्ण...जितवतां भवताम्।

(ii) अविमारक (p. 61) शीतचन्दनानिलयं मलयं प्रयास्यावः ।

(iii) ऊरुभङ्ग (p. 90) निहतपतितगजतुरगनररुधिरकलिलभूमिप्रदेशस्य विक्षिप्तवर्म चर्मातपत्रचामरतोमरशरकुन्त etc. to the end of the passage.

„ (p. 111) समरसंरम्भोभयबलजलधिसङ्क्षमसमयसमुत्थित etc.

(iv) प्रतिमा (p. 104) एष खलु स्वदारापहारिणं त्रैलोक्यविद्रावणं रावणं..... गुणगणविभूषणं विभीषणमभिषिच्य.....चन्द्राभिरामो रामः ।

„ „ (p. 46) अयं खलु.....प्रज्वलितधर्मप्रदीपः दिलीपः ।

„ „ (p. 47) नित्यावभृथस्नानप्रशान्तरजा अजः ।

Such artificialities are also found in abundance in verses :—

(i) अभिषेक I. 1 यो गाधिपुत्रमखविघ्नकराभिहन्ता
युद्धे विराधखरदूषणवीर्यहन्ता ।
दर्पोद्यतोल्बणकबन्धकपीन्द्रहन्ता
पायात् स वो निशिचरेन्द्रकुलाभिहन्ता ॥

„ I. 7 सम्प्राप्ता हरिवरबाहुसम्प्रगुप्ता
किष्किन्धा तव नृप बाहुसम्प्रगुप्ता ।

„ II. 4 गर्भागारविनिष्कुटेषु बहुशः शालाविमानादिषु
स्नानागारनिशाचरेन्द्रभवनप्रासादहर्म्येषु च ।
पानागारानिशान्तदेशविवरेष्वाक्रान्तवानस्म्यहो etc.

„ II. 6 चित्रप्रसूतहेमधातुरुचिराः शैलाश्च दृष्टा मया
नानावारिचराण्डजैर्विरचिता दृष्टा मया दीर्घिका ।
नित्यं पुष्पफलाढ्यपादपयुता देशाश्च दृष्टा मया
सर्वं दृष्टमिदं हि रावणगृहे सीता न दृष्टा मया ॥

„ II. 10 दिव्यास्त्रैः सुरदैत्यदानवचमूविद्रावणं रावणम् ।

„ VI. 13 शरवरपरिपीततीव्रबाणं
नरवरनैर्ऋतयोः समीक्ष्य युद्धम् ।

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विरतविविधशस्त्रपातमेते
हरिवरराक्षससैनिकाः स्थिताश्च ॥

(ii) ऊरुभङ्ग 5 उपलविषमा नागेन्द्राणां शरीरधराधरा
दिशि दिशि कृता गृध्रावासा हतातिरथा रथाः ।
अवनिपतयः स्वर्गं प्राप्ताः क्रियामरणे रणे
प्रतिमुखमिमे तत्तत् कृत्वा चिरं निहता हताः ॥
,, 61 गतः कर्णः स्वर्गं निपतिततनुः शन्तनुसुतः ।

(iii) दूतवाक्य 1 पादः पायादुपेन्द्रस्य सर्वलोकोत्सवः स वः ।
व्याविद्धो नमुचिर्येन तनुताम्रनखेन खे ॥
,, 13 प्राप्तः किलाद्य वचनादिह पाण्डवानां
दौत्येन भृत्य इव कृष्णमतिः स कृष्णः ।
श्रोतुं सखे ! त्वमपि सञ्जय कर्ण ! कर्णौ etc.
,, 45 भवतु चपल ! चक्रं कालचक्रं तवाद्य ।

(iv) प्रतिमा II. 11 शून्यः प्राप्तो यदि रथो भग्नो मम मनोरथः ।
नूनं दशरथं नेतुं कालेन प्रेषितो रथः ॥
,, IV. 17 गत्वा पूर्वं स्वसैन्यैरभिसरिसमये खं समानैर्विमानै—
र्विख्यातो यो विमर्दं स स इति बहुशः सासुराणां सुराणाम् ।
स श्रीमांस्त्यक्तदेहो दयितमपि विना स्नेहवन्तं भवन्तं
स्वर्गस्थः साम्प्रतं किं रमयति पितृभिः स्वैर्नरेन्द्रैर्नरेन्द्रः ॥
,, IV. 21 अपि सुगुण ! ममापि त्वत्प्रसूतिः प्रसूतिः
स खलु निभृतधीमांस्ते पिता मे पिता च ।
सुपुरुष पुरुषाणां मातृदोषो न दोषो
वरद ! भरतमार्तं पश्य तावद् यथावद् ॥
,, VI. 7 रामं प्रजानयनबुद्धिमनोभिराममम् ।

(v) बालचरित I. 8 नारायणाय नरलोकपरायणाय etc
,, V. 7 प्रविश्य रङ्गं कृतलोहमुष्टिं
तं मुष्टिना मुष्टिकमद्य रुष्टम् etc.

(vi) मध्यमव्यायोग 24 तरुण तरुणतानुरूपकान्ते । etc.

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APPENDIX B.

Long compounds occasionally employed in these plays. Only those occurring in verses are given here.

(i) दूतवाक्य—Verse 14 कृष्णापराभवभुवा रिपुवाहिनीभ-
कुम्भस्थलीदलनतीक्ष्णगदाधरस्य ।

„ Verse 41 मत्कार्मुकोदरविनिःसृतबाणजालै-
र्विद्धक्षरत्क्षतजरञ्जितसर्वगात्रम् ।

(ii) दूतघटोत्कच Verse 1 लोकत्रयाविरतनाटकतन्त्रवस्तु-
प्रस्तावनप्रतिसमापनसूत्रधारः ।

(iii) कर्णभार Verse 1 नरमृगपतिवर्ष्मालोकनभ्रान्तनारी-
नरदनुजसुप (र्ण ? र्व) व्रातपाताललोकः ।

„ Verse 6 अन्योन्यशस्त्रविनिपातनिकृत्तगात्र-
यौधाश्वदारणरथेषु महाहवेषु ।

„ Verse 15 उत्कर्णस्तिमिताञ्चिता (क्षि ? क्ष) वलितग्रीवा-
र्पिताग्राननाः ।

(iv) बालचरित IV. 4 सिंतेतराभुग्रदुकूलकान्ति-
द्युतेन्द्रनीलप्रतिमानवीचिम् ।

„ V. 12 द्युततुरगरथेभभ्रान्तयोधौघनादं
विलसदमलखड्गप्रासशक्त्यृष्टिकुन्तम् ।

(v) अविमारक V. 6 जलदसमयघोषणाहम्बरानेकरूपक्रिया-
जम्थका वज्रभृद्दृष्टयो
भगणयवनिकास्तटित्पत्रगीवासवल्मीक-
भूता नभोमार्गरूढक्षुपाः ।

(vi) प्रतिमा I. 5 आरब्धे पटहे स्थिते गुरुजने भद्रासने लङ्घिते
स्कन्धोच्चारणनम्यमानवदनप्रच्योतितोये घटे ।

„ V. 12 मद्भुजाकृष्टनिस्त्रिंशकृत्तपक्षक्षतच्युतैः ।
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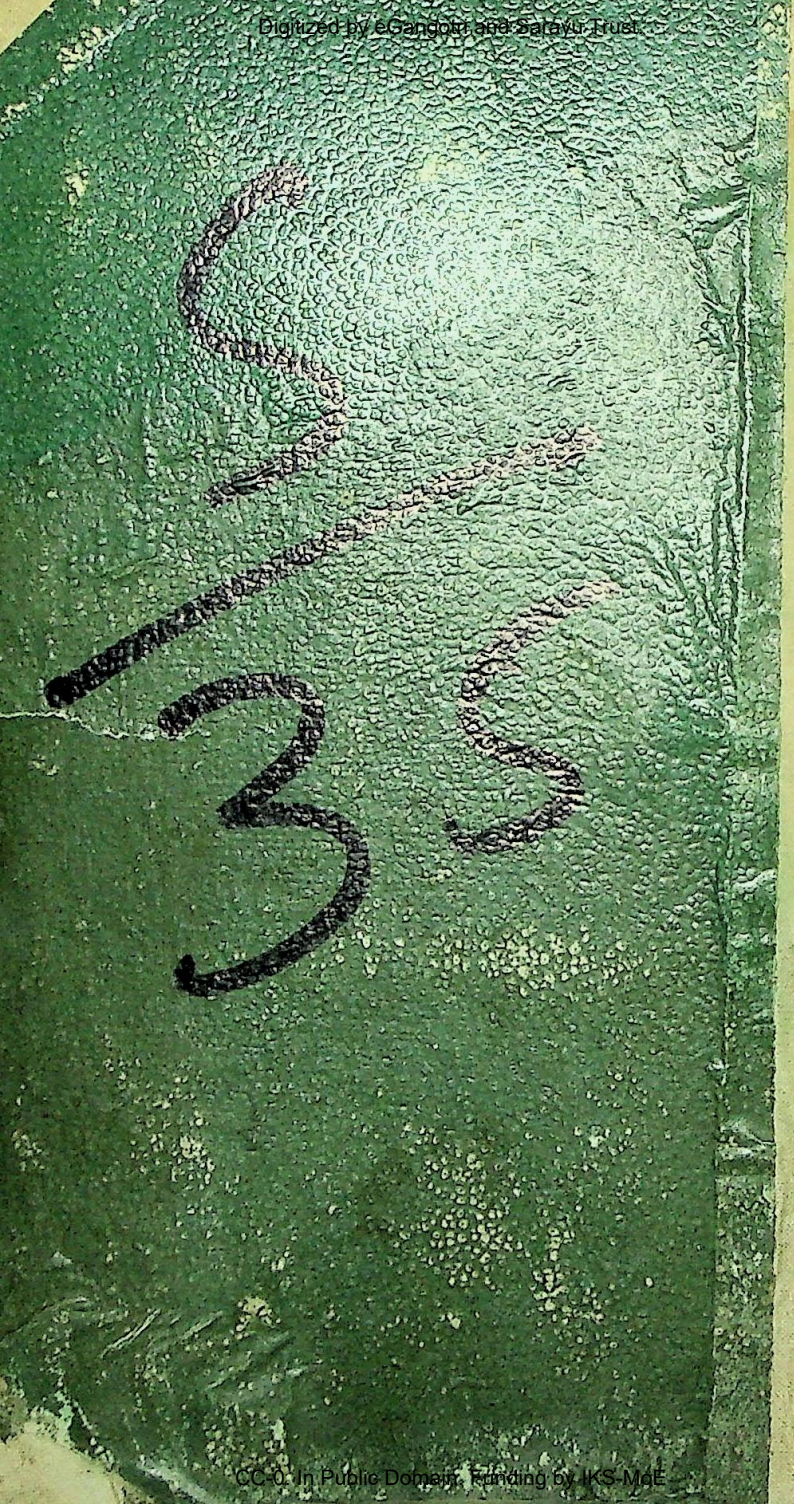

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